

# THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

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## Ecclesiastical Affairs.

### THE WAR AGAINST SHADOWS.

WE know of no warfare likely to be more barren of results than fighting with one's own apprehensions—no waste of energy so bootless as that which oozes through repeated preparations to meet the dangers created by our own fears. They always contend at serious disadvantage who do battle with an invisible foe. Imagination, in such cases, conjures up and sets in array against them, legions of difficulties which are not the less formidable because they happen to be unreal. There is a social and political, as well as a physical, species of *hypochondriasis*—a disease under the influence of which whole classes of men are haunted by the ghosts of their own fancy. Alas! for their own peace, to say nothing whatever of their usefulness, when long inaction has delivered over any section of the community to such a scourge. From that moment they are as good as dead to the world of realities. They surround themselves with imaginary evils. They are hunted down by troops of howling perils which one lusty shout of common sense might serve to put to flight. And to every entreaty of their friends, that they would be up and astir to cope with real difficulties, their answer is in the same strain of melancholy—

"I hear a voice you cannot hear;  
I see a hand you cannot see."

A rumour prevails, and, we fear, is likely to prove but too well founded, that the very men who took a prominent part in the agitation against Sir James Graham's Factories bill, and who, it was natural to expect, would, when that bill was withdrawn by the government, have led on dissenters to the permanent occupation of the high vantage ground of principle, purpose, during the parliamentary recess, to concentrate public effort upon a merely defensive policy. The educational scheme they allege, is only laid aside until next session. We must be prepared to meet it again in open field. Whatever excitement can be kept up, must be directed against this remotely contingent evil. We have gained one victory by means of united action. All classes of nonconformists are agreed in hostility to whatever measure may consign to the established clergy the education of the people. It were unwise, therefore, to divert attention to other, even though vastly more important, matters.

Now, we do not question the great advantages of union. Our readers will bear us witness, that so long as there was a *real* foe with whom to contend, we scrupulously forbore pressing upon public notice such objects of agitation as might have distracted and divided the nonconforming body. We consented to wait the issue of the then raging conflict before taking any steps in the direction of an entire severance of the church from the state. Hints were thrown out by many whom, if need be, we could name, earnestly deprecating the introduction, at that particular juncture of time, of topics admitted to be momentous, but thought to be then unseasonable. Impressions were created, that should the Factories bill be happily defeated, an aggressive policy might be resorted to with some hopes of success. To this we deferred—nor are we guilty of exaggeration when we affirm, that to this thousands of sincere and earnest-hearted dissenters deferred likewise—but, assuredly, it was in hope of better things to come. Well! what has been gained? Nothing, as yet, but a barren triumph. We have beaten back the foe—but we are not, it seems, to follow him up. We cannot advance without leaving some of our forces behind—and so we are to remain in the field, under arms, until our adversary recruits and bears down upon us a second time. The anticipated evil may come upon us or it may not. The danger exists, at present, only in somewhat nervous apprehensions. Whether it will hereafter take palpable shape, or whether it shall

—“like an insubstantial pageant faded,  
Leave not a rack behind”—

it is impossible now to determine. Why, then, oh! why are dissenters to be forbidden further advance, lest perils which conjecture has called up, and which conjecture may *always* call up at pleasure, may at some future period overtake us? We have put down a *real* Factories bill—and must we now take up our position against an *imaginary* one? Has the object of Sir James Graham made such an impression upon our organs of vision as that even after it has been withdrawn the image

of it remains? Another sad illustration, we fear, is about to be furnished to the world, that it is far easier to gain a victory than to improve it.

Let us, however, suppose the worst. Let us imagine the present government to be as strong as a parliamentary majority of one hundred would, to superficial view, represent it to be. Let us put out of sight its rapidly increasing difficulties—or if we look at them, look at them with the eye of a flatterer rather than of a friend. Let Ireland be set down as a *bagatelle*, requiring nothing more than a hasty supervision. Write against Wales any term expressive of nonentity which comes first to hand. Treat as fabulous the strike in Staffordshire. Whisper no word of the Miners' association in the north of England. Indulge in the most extravagant hopes of a revival of trade and commerce. Fancy a full exchequer. In short, wave the wand of imagination, and call up before the mind's eye a conservative government, unmindful of past experience, and left, without business on their hands, at full leisure to concoct another educational project, based upon the principle of church ascendancy. Even in this case—an unlikely one in the judgment of most sane men—it is hard to see how the immediate commencement by dissenters of a vigorous agitation for dissolving the union of church and state, could unfit them to meet the coming danger. The very boldness and decision of this policy would go far to make ministers pause. From the instant of its cordial adoption, high-churchism would be put upon the defensive. Henceforth we should hear little more of the petty annoyances and mortifying insults which our past supineness has provoked. And surely, if, in face of such an anti-establishment demonstration, the government were foolhardy enough to repeat their recent attack, we should not be in a worse position for repelling it, in consequence of having gained possession of the heights of principle.

Nor is it out of place to remark that, whilst we continue where we are, every future assault made upon dissent will find it less disposed to be roused into action. If ever men are to be fired with a generous enthusiasm, it must be done by leading them up against real and palpable evils. To bid them stand still and gaze upon the phantoms which our own fears have conjured up, is not precisely the way to inspire drooping energies. Anything like a general agitation to *prevent* another Factories bill, we look upon as a delusion which, like a will-o'-the-wisp, could hover only over the most stagnant ignorance of human nature. Englishmen, of all other people, are the least disposed to war against shadows. Show them a real foe, one clothed in actual being, and assuming a visible and definite form, and, be he ever so gigantic in his proportions, ever so hideous of aspect, they may be persuaded to face it with manly determination. But it surpasses the power of the ablest agitators to get up a demonstration against vague contingencies. It is not what may be, but what is, which puts men into active motion. The recommendation, therefore, to let present excitement expend itself in preparation for a far-off improbability, we regard as equivalent to an avowed dislike of prolonging a contest with ecclesiastical intolerance—as the deliberate opening of a safety-valve whereby to let off the steam.

### THE LOSS OF THE PEGASUS—JOHN MORELL MACKENZIE.

THE loss of the Pegasus—a melancholy and heart-rending narrative of which we gave in our last number—will connect itself in the minds of a large number of our readers, and will be hereafter associated with, and remembered by, that spectacle of the moral sublime exhibited upon her deck, just previously to her going down, by John Morell Mackenzie. The picture, as drawn by the simple and unadorned evidence of one of the survivors, is perhaps the most touching which has of late attracted notice, and affords one of the best and most vivid illustrations of the power of Christianity, when received into the heart, and consistently exemplified in the life, to sustain the human mind in the presence of the most appalling danger. That unasked testimony given by the rough seaman to the calmness and collected demeanour of Morell Mackenzie in his last moments—that record so minute, and therefore so faithful, that above the shrieks of the dying and bewildered passengers, he heard a voice of prayer ascending to the Most High—that brief but emphatic statement, which proves that, even in the

very presence of sudden death, the benevolence of the man of God overlooked not the wants and woes of others, but felt them equally with his own—these constitute noble and irresistible proofs of the infinite value of the truth, and the power of the faith, which Mr Mackenzie professed; and will doubtless tend greatly to sustain the fortitude of his surviving friends under their unexpected bereavement.

With John Morell Mackenzie we had the happiness of contracting an intimate friendship at the theological seminary in which he prepared himself for the ministry. His attainments, at that time, commanded the respect, and his amiable manners and unassuming kindness won for him the affection, of all his fellow-students. At the Glasgow university, whither he repaired to complete his studies, he gained no slight distinction. For several years he was co-pastor with Mr Durant, over the independent church in Poole, Dorsetshire, whence he removed to Glasgow, and on the 27th of July, 1837, was ordained as assistant and successor to the late Rev. Greville Ewing. This pastorate he afterwards resigned, and devoted himself exclusively to his duties as professor of biblical criticism and church history in the Glasgow theological academy. From the *Glasgow Argus* we extract the following portrait, which the friends of Mr Mackenzie will recognise as, in all respects, faithful:—

His intellect was strong and clear; his learning varied and profound; his capacity for communicating instruction remarkably felicitous; and his disposition most attractively amiable and engaging. He had an uncommonly large circle of private friends, who were charmed with his conversational powers, and sat entranced, as with an eye beaming with pleasure, and a countenance lit up with intelligence, he poured forth, from his exuberant stores, ideas now gathered from the literature of Greece, then from that of Germany, and anon from an ancient or modern British writer. Nor were his friendships confined to the denomination to which he belonged, (fiercely attached as he was to their principles), but they were extended towards all, with a frank generosity which threw sectarianism aside, and rose above all bigotry. There was no haughty superiority over those beneath him; he was unaffectedly humble; and ever manifested a spirit of unalloyed meekness and candour. Yet he was firm and unbending when principle was at stake, and would not have yielded one iota, whatever might have been the consequences. His piety was sincere, and evidently based on deep personal conviction. Frequently, when delivering addresses at the Lord's table, or when offering up prayer, his soul seemed quite ravished in the contemplation of the realities of the upper sanctuary; the veil betwixt the seen and the unseen appeared almost to have been removed; sublime conceptions flowed from his lips in quick succession, so that the effect produced was powerfully impressive. And his last moments proved his ruling passion.

CHURCH RATES.—ROTHERHITHE.—A vestry meeting was held on Friday last, in the parish church of Rotherhithe, to make a rate for the current year. The Rev. E. Blick in the chair. A report was read from a committee, previously appointed to consider what repairs were required, and it recommended that certain alterations should be made in the poor seats and childrens' galleries, together with painting and whitewashing, the expenses of which were estimated at about £500. This report having been read, the churchwardens' accounts for last year were read; in which only £8 8s. was charged for sacramental wine, though some time since this charge amounted to £70; £14 was charged for bell-ringing, besides the usual sums for organist, clerk, beadle, &c., &c. The most extraordinary item, however, was, the lawyer's charge of upwards of £55, for recovering rates from a few parishioners, as recently reported in this journal (the seizing of a dissenting minister's table, hearth-rug, &c.). This excited, of course, considerable indignation. The Rector, rather imprudently, acknowledged that expenses were incurred, also, by the churchwardens themselves; who, when they resigned their official pews at the expiration of each year, generally took away the prayer books and bibles that had been provided for them!! In the end, it appeared that, although £1143 had been received last year for church rates, about £800 more would be required for the present year. On a five-penny rate being proposed by the churchwarden, an amendment was made, reducing it to two-pence. This having been lost, an adjournment for twelve months was submitted, but was refused to be put by the chairman. Another amendment was then made for "no rate," which was also negatived; but the meeting terminated by a poll being demanded, which is to take place on Thursday next.

CHURCH RATE SALE.—Church and state had a sale by auction on Wednesday, in Hexham market place, when Mr Joseph Ridley's clock, several of his books, and his bed, bolster, pillows, and quilt, which had



been seized for church rates, were publicly disposed of, to the great edification of the people, and the spread of the gospel. Again we ask, "How long?"—*Gateshead Observer*.

**CHURCH RATES, BURY.**—Last week a meeting was held in the vestry of Radcliffe church, to pass the accounts of the churchwardens for last year, and to lay a rate for the current year. About 36 persons were present, of whom two only were opponents of church rates. The rector took the chair. On the items being read, the first objected to was £4 10s., for tuning the organ. Mr Cornelius Pendlebury said that a contract had been made with a person who tuned the organ for £2 a year, and he would oppose the passing of the extra £2 10s., which amount was accordingly struck off. Next was a charge of £3 for a churchwarden's dinner. Mr Henry Rostron objected to the item; he considered it very wrong that the churchwardens should incur an unnecessary expense of £3, whilst one half the farmers in the parish could scarcely exist. The rector said, "Oh! I love the dinners; the last was so comfortable." Mr Rostron: "It wur so kumfurtubl ut yoarn tumblin won unuther deawn t'stairs, un rentin thir cloods awff thir backs; un thir's three or four here ut wur lyin o' their backs dhrunken un vomitin, un if that be kumfurt aw dunnut kno wat kumfurt is." Then a charge of £2 10s. for the churchwarden collecting the rate. Mr Rostron objected to the item, and Mr Pendlebury said, if the churchwarden took one penny he should go before the magistrates. The Rector: "I think £2 10s. is little enough." Mr Rostron: "It doesn't matthur whether little onoo or not, we mun stick to th' law; un iv yoan do so thir'll not besitch thrutchin furt churchwardin's job." The item was disallowed. A vote of thanks to the rector for his services in the chair was proposed by Mr Edmund Hardman, of Chamber hall, Bury, and carried, no one voting to the contrary but the two opponents. Mr Rostron said he was not come there to vote thanks to any one for robbing him. The Rector told Mr Pendlebury that he used to be a singer at the church, and only left when there were no more loaves and fishes for him. Mr Pendlebury asked, "And how long, sir, would you continue your services if the loaves and fishes were taken from you?" The rector, not being prepared with a reply, broke up the meeting.—*Manchester Times*.

**CHURCH RATES—BIRMINGHAM.**—On Thursday, a meeting was held in Edgbaston, Birmingham, for the purpose of granting a church rate. Mr Sturge, before proceeding to business, inquired of the vicar, how it was that a special circular had been issued by the churchwardens to a portion only of the parishioners, especially requesting their attendance to lay a rate, in addition to the usual notice. To this, however, no other answer was returned, than that the churchwardens had a right to correspond with their friends. After some further objections to the mode of calling the meeting, a rate of two-pence in the pound was proposed. To this an amendment was moved, that the rate be not granted. A show of hands was taken, and declared to be against the rate. A poll was then demanded, which continued throughout the day. There were for the rate, 279 votes; against it, 155; persons for the rate, 163; against it, 134. After the poll was demanded, Mr Pixell (the vicar) positively refused to fix any time at which he would close it, but said that he would use his own discretion. This was strongly remonstrated against, as a most arbitrary and unfair proceeding, but without effect. The supporters of the rate, who appeared to have their plans well arranged, sent cars into town and different parts of the parish, and brought up their friends generally early in the day. Nearly one-fourth of those who voted for the rate were women, who are usually only called in when the contest becomes severe. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, it cannot be doubted that, with proper arrangements, on any future occasion, a large majority could be secured against the rate.

**A HAT SCENE.**—The following scene occurred in the church at Edgbaston on Thursday. The members of the society of Friends, as is their usual practice, entered the building with their hats on, and one after another took them off, as it was convenient or agreeable for them to do so. When the polling commenced, only one or two remained covered, and a call was made that they should take their hats off. Mr Sturge, who had previously taken his off, then said, that if this was persisted in, as he did not take his hat off in deference to the bricks and mortar in the building, he should put it on again, which he did, and his example was followed by a number of others. Shortly after this, Mr Pixell, the son of the rector, requested Mr Sturge to take his hat off. Mr Sturge declined to do so, remarking that he meant no disrespect to any one in keeping his hat on; but as he did not take it off on going into his own place of worship, he did not intend to do so on that occasion. Mr Pixell then said, "Perhaps you will let me take it off for you," at the same time taking hold of the brim of Mr Sturge's hat, but Mr S. having placed his hand firmly on the crown, the attempt failed. On going to tender his vote, the parties acting on behalf of the rector objected to take it, alleging as their ground of objection that there was an act of parliament, authorising them to refuse any vote tendered with the hat on! We understand the same objection was made to Mr Southall, Mr J. Cadbury, and others. Query, where is this act to be found?—*Birmingham Journal*.

**THE CHURCH IN FALMOUTH.**—The rector of Falmouth, with an obstinate determination which he mistakes for firmness of purpose, perseveres, in spite of all remonstrance, in performing divine service with all the Puseyitish mummeries that he

is permitted to adopt. We say "permitted," because fortunately the churchwarden, Mr Bradfield, elected by the parishioners, calmly, but resolutely, exercises the power with which he is vested by virtue of his office, and objects to all innovations that come within his authority; hence the credence table was withdrawn after having been used one Sunday, and last Saturday he sent a protest against an offertory for the society for Propagating Religious Knowledge in Foreign parts, which the rector had stated his intention of making on Sunday; the object was, therefore, altered, and a collection made for the society for assisting the poor in providing winter clothing and fuel. The sum collected was about £2. On Tuesday, St James's day, full service was performed and a collection made, which amounted, we are informed, to the large sum of sixpence half-penny! The whole church is in a state of discord—it may be "harmony, not understood" by any but the rector, who seems not only to delight in exhibiting his own easily excited feelings, but also in provoking those of his congregation.—*Falmouth Packet*.

**ILLUSTRATION OF PRIESTISM.**—We call the attention of our readers, and particularly of liberal churchmen, to an extraordinary case recorded in our first page. The Rev. J. A. Sturgis, who has been a clergyman of the establishment for about half a century, being now more than seventy years of age, returned not many months since, to end his days in his native village of Sibbertoft, where his ancestors have lived and died for generations past. This gentleman, at the recent administration of the eucharist, at the parish church, presented himself in the usual manner, when the Puseyite rector, a young man, under thirty, actually rejected, in the face of the communicants, this venerable clergyman, kneeling on the tombs of his ancestors, and refused him the sacrament, not on any moral ground, but because he had not complied with an obsolete rule revived by the ultra-rubricians,—a rule intended for the profligate and the quarrelsome, and requiring three days' notice, before their approach to the sacred table. This extraordinary insult was rendered still more marked, by the disgraceful and disgusting fact, which we have on the authority of the reverend gentleman himself, that the disciple of Newman and Froude called to the consecrated elements, at the same time, a woman who had presided over two houses of a certain description, patronized by gentlemen in the neighbourhood, whose society this pharisaic priest has not, we understand, on that account thought it necessary to shun.—*Leicester Mercury*.

**PUSEYISM.**—The Protestant association, at a meeting held on Tuesday, adopted a memorial, which has been signed by the president, vice-presidents, and other persons connected with the society, addressed to the archbishops and bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland, directing their attention to the fearfully rapid spread of Tractarianism, and praying their lordships to exert their influence in opposing its extension.

**BIGOTRY AT PENRITH.**—The Penrith board of guardians has lately completed a small religious monopoly, in the appointment of a clerical chaplain to the union workhouse. Children have been torn away from the Sabbath-schools they frequented, contrary to the wishes of their parents, and without regard to the feelings of the conductors of the schools. Aged and infirm persons, who were orderly and regular in their attendance at the Wesleyan chapel, have been hindered; not one of them is allowed to attend at present. In the stretch of its power the board of guardians has bolted the door of a public institution against all dissenting ministers, declaring that such persons have no right to enter there in their public capacity as teachers of religion. To crown the whole, upwards of two hundred persons, comprising dissenters, no doubt, as well as church people, have been consigned to the sole care and religious instruction of a salaried chaplain, who is declared to be in "the true apostolical succession." Such proceedings have never strengthened the church anywhere else, and, it is presumed, will not have that effect at Penrith.—*Lancaster Guardian*.

**THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.**—On Tuesday evening a lecture was delivered in the theatre, Rochdale, by Commodore Mead, on the present position of the established church in England and Ireland. The lecturer displayed considerable talent, and with an unsparing hand laid bare the enormities of the state church and priesthood. His remarks were loudly applauded.—*Manchester Times*.

**WHAT IS PUSEYISM?**—This is a question which has often been asked, and almost as variously answered. Unhappily, it is our lot this week to be enabled to supply a less equivocal answer than is generally given. On Sunday last, the Rev. J. Moore, Roman catholic priest, read to his congregation, in the mass-house in Bath street, the sermon for preaching which Dr Pusey has been suspended; and, commenting on the said sermon, described it as a pure exposition of (Roman) catholic doctrine. We will not weaken this fact by any extended observations. If the broad fact itself is not sufficient to command attention, a broad page full of animadversions would be utterly thrown away.—*Birmingham Advertiser*.

**MORE PERSECUTION.**—A correspondent has transmitted a short account of the persecution of some primitive methodists in the village of Noke, Oxfordshire. On Sunday, July 16, while the good people were met to worship God in the street, a number of respectable young men (so called), headed by Farmon, a farmer, disturbed them by throwing rotten eggs and other filth at them. After the service, the said Farmon seized one of the good men by the collar, and instantly dragged him into a pond close by, saying the methodists had no law, and the magistrates of Bicester would do nothing for them. On Saturday

last the offender was brought before the magistrates at Oxford to answer for what he had done, when a fine of £1 7s. 6d. was laid on him, and at the same time he was given to understand, that if he or any of his party was brought there again for the like offence, the punishment would be doubled. Thus, if the Bicester magistrates don't know their duty, Oxford ones both know and do it.—*Wesleyan Chronicle*.

#### SCOTCH CHURCH.

**MODERATION OF THE "MODERATES."**—This party, which now includes all that remains of the church of Scotland, have further shown their intolerance by adopting a memorial to Sir James Graham, requesting that Sir David Brewster may be superseded from the post of professor in the university of St Andrew's, on the ground of his not belonging to the established church. An answer of Sir James Graham's to Mr Bannerman, in the house of Commons, will be found in our parliamentary report.

**VOLUNTARIISM IN SUPPORT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT.**—The *Glasgow Post* publishes a somewhat remarkable letter, couched in the form of an appeal from the clerk to the presbytery of Paisley, to members of the residuary kirk, urging them to assist "in extricating her from her embarrassments." The following is an extract from the document:—

"Several of the churches within the bounds of the presbytery of Paisley having become vacant, by the secession of their ministers from the establishment, it requires no little exertion to have the ordinances of religion regularly supplied in these; and the peculiar circumstances of the times render it more than ordinarily necessary that in none of our own parishes should there on any Sabbath be the lack of the wonted services of public worship. There is thus a weekly demand for the assistance of our probationers; and as it is not only expedient, but absolutely necessary, that they be remunerated for their labours, and that their expenses be paid, the presbytery of Paisley have appointed me to bring this matter under the notice of heritors, and others within our bounds, with a view to obtain such immediate pecuniary aid as may enable us to meet the difficulties to which I have adverted.

"We have already evidence of the readiness of certain parties to contribute of their means to this important object; and when we reflect upon the fact that a very large amount of money is regularly poured into the treasury of those who have seceded from the church, we cannot fail to persuade ourselves, that we, who still seek to uphold and extend our valuable establishment, will receive the aid which circumstances call for, to overcome difficulties which may justly be regarded as of a more limited and temporary nature than theirs."

To this is added—"Dr Fleming begs the serious and immediate attention of—to the letter on the other side. There being no other alternative but either adopting this method or allowing the parish churches to be vacant on those Sabbaths on which the ministers are to preach in such parishes as are vacated." It was never intended (says the *Post*) by the writers of the subjoined circular that it should fall into our hands, or that the public should be made aware of the desperate condition of the establishment, and that its pillars have at last found out that, to maintain its influence, "it is not only expedient, but absolutely necessary" that churchmen also must draw their purses, and contribute to pay for the labour and expenses of the probationers, otherwise, for want of sympathy from the people, the church cannot be extricated from her embarrassments.

#### Correspondence.

##### THE REGIUM DONUM.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR—Rejoicing, as I do, in common with thousands of your readers, in the prospect of a convention of all friends of perfect civil and religious freedom, which your powerful advocacy will no doubt speedily evoke; my spirits were rather depressed the other day, by being informed that there are some nonconforming preachers who receive government pay, or bounty, or (call it what they will) some retaining fee, which has the almost infallible effect on them of keeping them quiet. Dear sir, can such things be? and could you or any of your readers give any confirmation or denial to this allegation?

In spite of such inconsistent dissenters, I trust we shall soon have a convention; and that the speedy result of the convention will be the separation of church and state. It does one good to hear a Roman catholic prelate publicly declaring, they want no endowment for their church in Ireland—they want none of Lord John's sops. And if they do not, shall any fees stop the mouths of protestant nonconformists? What dissenters do, in their peaceful crusade against ecclesiastical tyranny, must be done quickly.

I am, dear sir, faithfully yours,  
A FREE-CHURCHMAN.

**THE STADE DUTIES.**—It appears that the commissioners at Dresden have drawn up a *pro forma* tariff, by which certain incidental forms and expenses are proposed to be abolished, but which concedes to Hanover a large augmentation of the rates now levied. It is further stated, that the increase of duty is to be directed against those articles of British manufacture which constitute the bulk of our exports to Germany—viz., cottons and woollens. For instance, our correspondent affirms that cotton twist is to be charged at the rate of one-eighth to a quarter per cent.; whereas, it at present pays only six shillings, or little more than one-sixteenth per cent. per bale. The government of Hamburg is understood to have protested against these proceedings of the Elbe commission; but it is apprehended that the new tariff having been framed in concert with a diplomatic agent of the British government, Lord Aberdeen may feel himself bound to ratify the proceeding. This last supposition, however, is to us incredible.—*Chronicle*.



## Imperial Parliament.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

## PETITIONS FOR THE WEEK.

- American treaty, against tenth article, 1.  
 Arms (Ireland) bill, for, 6.  
 Coalwhippers bill, against, 1.  
     for, 3.  
 Church of Scotland Benefices bill, against, 1.  
 Coals, for repeal of export duty on, 3.  
 County Courts bill, for, 8.  
 Customs bill, against, 2.  
 Distress, for inquiry into, 1.  
 Education (Ireland), for discontinuance of grant, 4.  
 Factories bill, against, 6.  
     for limiting hours of labour in, 2.  
 Maynooth college, against further grant, 6.  
 Poor Relief (Ireland) bill, against, 1.  
 Post office, for further reform, 2.  
 Roman Catholic Relief act, for repeal of, 2.  
 Vote by ballot, for, 1.

## PUBLIC BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

## BILLS PRESENTED AND READ A FIRST TIME.

1. Slave Trade Suppression bill.
2. Heritable Securities (Scotland) bill.
3. Slave Trade (Austria) bill.
4. ——— (Chile) bill.
5. ——— (Mexico) bill.
6. ——— (Portugal) bill.
7. Turnpike Acts Continuance bill.
8. Highway Rates bill.
9. Special Sessions bill.

## BILLS READ A SECOND TIME.

1. Moveables (Scotland) bill.
2. Loan Societies bill.
3. Prison Discipline bill.
4. Limitation of Actions (Ireland) bill.
5. Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions bill.
6. Stamps bill.
7. West India Islands Relief bill.
8. Excise bill.
9. Slave Trade (Austria) bill.
10. ——— (Chile) bill.
11. ——— (Mexico) bill.
12. ——— (Portugal) bill.
13. Church of Scotland Benefices bill.
14. Slave Trade Suppression bill.
15. Turnpike Acts Continuance bill.
16. Highway Rates bill.
17. Bishops' Relief (Ireland) bill.

## CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE.

1. Stock in Trade bill.
2. Slave Trade Treaties bill.
3. Militia Ballots Suspension bill.
4. Bills of Exchange bill.
5. Coroners bill.
6. Loan Societies bill.
7. Poor Relief (Ireland) bill.
8. Slave Trade Bounties bill.
9. Stamps bill.
10. Law of Evidence bill.
11. Warrants of Attorney bill.
12. Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions bill.
13. West India Islands Relief bill.
14. Excise bill.

## BILLS READ A THIRD TIME AND PASSED.

1. Controverted Elections bill.
2. Municipal Corporations bill.
3. Loan Societies bill.
4. Slave Trade Treaties bill.
5. Militia Ballots Suspension bill.
6. Bills of Exchange bill.
7. Marriages (Ireland) bill.
8. Stock in Trade bill.
9. Coroners bill.

## DEBATES.

Thursday, July 27th.

## ARMS (IRELAND) BILL.

Mr SHARMAN CRAWFORD proposed the following amendment:—

"That the unrestricted power of having, carrying, and using arms, for all legal purposes, is a right enjoyed by Englishmen and Scotchmen, and is one of the essential safeguards of freedom. That to limit or withhold this privilege, as regards Irishmen, creates an unjust, impolitic, and insulting distinction, and is a violation of that equality of rights which can be the only safe and just basis of imperial legislation. That, therefore, it is the duty of this House to reject any measure which would impose or continue such restriction."

He contended that such a measure as this, or a measure to anything like the same extent, had never been passed by the Irish parliament, and that no good ground for it had been laid in the imperial legislature. He also contended that the measure ought to be limited to those parts of Ireland which were in a disturbed state, and not be applied to the whole country indiscriminately. As an illustration of the improved and peaceable condition of some parts of the country, he referred to the charge lately made to the grand jury of the county of Down, in which the learned judge who presided congratulated them on the very thin state of the calendar, and the absence of any serious crime. If the weaker country was to be governed upon principles and by laws different from those which were applied to the stronger country, there was no real legislative union. The only safety for the weaker country in imperial legislation was, that the law in both countries should be the same.

Mr ROSS seconded the motion.

Lord ELIOT, declining to follow Mr S. Crawford through his argument, contented himself with explaining the nature of two or three modifications which government intended to introduce.

The House then divided, rejecting Mr Crawford's resolutions by 99 to 44.

Lord J. RUSSELL desired to make a proposal with respect to those provisions which authorise the civil authorities to force open and enter houses in the night for the seizure of arms. There was a common proverb that a man's house is his castle; and it had been eloquently said, "Though the hovel be never so mean, though the wind sweep through and the rain beat in, the king cannot enter." What would be thought, in an English county, of a power to break at night into the houses of gentlemen and tradesmen, and disturb the repose of the members of the family, female as well as male? Surely, then, such a power ought not to be enacted, as against the humbler classes inhabiting the sister kingdom. What he would recommend was, that this part of the law should be confined to those counties which the Lord

Lieutenant should have proclaimed to be in a state of disturbance requiring such an interposition. It had been argued that to throw such a duty on the Lord Lieutenant would be invidious; but he saw no reason for subjecting all Ireland to this odious inquisition, in order that the Lord Lieutenant might be lightened of his due responsibility. Nor did he believe that the chief danger arose from fire-arms, other weapons were used with equally mischievous consequences to human life. He concluded by moving two clauses for the attainment of his object.

Lord ELIOT censured the inconsistency of Lord John Russell, who had expressed his willingness to renew a bill which contained these powers of search, unaccompanied by the modifications and checks of the present bill. No search for arms could take place by night without the presence of a magistrate; nor by day without the presence either of a magistrate or of a sub-inspector of police. Districts were only proclaimed when in actual insurrection; but the present bill was a preventive measure, to repress outrages, and those agrarian disturbances which rendered life and property insecure.

After a short discussion, in which Mr MORGAN JOHN O'CONNELL, Mr ROSS, Mr EWART, the O'CONOR DON, Lord CLEMENTS, and Mr LEFROY took part, the House divided, when Lord John Russell's clause was rejected by 109 to 65.

Some additional and postponed clauses having been added,

Mr M. J. O'CONNELL moved to expunge the 8th clause, which requires the branding or stamping of arms. Now that a power had been given to the police to apprehend any unlicensed person who might be found with arms, there was no longer any use in this clause. It was a clause suggested by police inspectors, against whose officious suggestions he would caution the government. It was a new clause, too, in whose favour no experience could be vouched. He must, therefore, call upon ministers either to expunge it, or to give to the people of Ireland some tangible reason for its enactment.

Lord ELIOT said, that as it had been found necessary to require the registration of arms, it was necessary likewise to have proof of that registration, which proof the mark supplied. The government had not adopted this measure on the mere suggestion of police officers; but when they had resolved upon the principle of it, they had certainly thought it prudent to consult practical men on the best mode of carrying that principle into execution.

A division having negatived Mr M. J. O'Connell's proposal, some verbal amendments were made, and the bill was ordered to be read a third time on Friday.

## POOR RELIEF (IRELAND) BILL.

On the motion for going into committee on this bill, after a short preliminary conversation,

Mr SHARMAN CRAWFORD urged the importance of introducing a settlement clause into the Poor Law bill, in order to provide for cases of ejection; illustrating its necessity by the recent fact of 174 families having been turned off the property of Lord Lorton, on the expiration of the leases of the middlemen under whom they held.

Mr LEFROY explained the circumstances under which this had taken place. They were not tenants of Lord Lorton, but of middlemen, who had sublet the property exceedingly disadvantageously, and on the expiration of the leases it was considered necessary to throw the land into larger farms. The number said to be ejected was considerably exaggerated; and Lord Lorton, in assuming possession of the land, had offered the means of emigration to many of them, of which, however, they did not avail themselves.

Mr MORE O'FERRALL next entered into the particulars of a dispute between the Edenderry board of guardians and the poor law commissioners, which has resulted in litigation. The commissioners had awakened the suspicions and discontent of the farmers composing the board, by the reckless extravagance of their conduct, in the erection of the union workhouse; and it was natural that a strong spirit of opposition to the law should arise, when the small farmers felt themselves called on to pay heavy rates, to be lavished, not on the relief of the poor, but on extravagant and needless erections.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM, after complaining that no notice had been given of the intention of bringing forward this subject, admitted, that in the case of the Edenderry workhouse, there had been a lavish expenditure. He, however, justified the commissioners, who, in their dispute with the board, had acted in pursuance of powers given to them by the Poor law; and in appealing to the court of Queen's Bench, they had resorted to the only court of appeal that was open to them.

Sir DENHAM NORREYS, Mr SMITH O'BRIEN, and Captain JONES, all declared that the Edenderry case was not a solitary one in Ireland.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL thought that the particulars of extravagance and abuse stated by Mr More O'Ferrall would justify a particular inquiry. In originally appointing the functionaries of the poor-law commission, great pains had been taken to select proper and efficient individuals; but when complaints of abuse were made, it was the duty of the Home Secretary to institute a strict inquiry.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM had caused investigation to be made, and the result was, that nothing like malversation had occurred; but in the sudden and extensive erection of so many workhouses, with the view of bringing the law into immediate operation, the prudence of which he doubted, there had occurred cases of extravagance, which the solitary commissioner and single architect had not been able to control.

Mr ARCHBOLD and Mr VILLIERS STUART added some additional particulars, coming within their own knowledge, of gross mismanagement in administering the Poor-law, and Sir EDMUND HAYES re-

marked that it was useless to go into committee on the bill, unless they were prepared to apply a remedy to these abuses.

The House then went into committee on the bill, and having reached as far as clause 9, adjourned.

Friday, July 28th.

## STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL, on the motion that the House resolve itself in a committee of supply, took the opportunity of giving his promised comment on, and review of, the general state of public affairs. He commenced by alluding, in sportive terms, to the present position of government.

It might naturally be asked what had become of the great majorities which were arrayed in support of the government? and if that question were asked, perhaps a similar answer might be given to it as had been given to his constituents by the right hon. baronet the member for Dorchester, who described himself and his colleagues as acting in a state of constitutional harmony with the majority. ["Hear" and a laugh.] That, said the noble lord, was no doubt a very happy condition of a government, and it might be amusing to inquire what were the tunes played in this happy musical accord? [Laughter.] I do not think that "Rule Britannia" was one of them. [Laughter and cheers from the opposition benches.] I apprehend that the agricultural interest will hardly admit that "Oh, the Roast Beef of Old England" was in the performance. [Laughter.] The Irish gentlemen will not be able to discover "St. Patrick's Day in the Morning" amongst the tunes. [Laughter.] We can hardly find even "God save the Queen," and the tune which we can recognize will be that sometimes sung by glee-singers after dinners "We are all a noddin'." [much laughter,] and this was the amount of the harmony derived from that musical combination of which the right hon. gentleman the member for Dorchester spoke to his constituents.

He animadverted upon the failure to carry any of the government bills; and then, after some remarks upon the non-production of the papers relative to Scinde, and upon the general aspect of affairs in India and China, he proceeded to consider the commercial condition of this country, which he illustrated from the falling off in her exports to two great markets—those of the Brazils and of the United States. To these two markets, the decrease of export had been upwards of £3,867,000. Your high duty on corn had been returned upon you by America in a high tariff; and your high duty on sugar had met a similar return from Brazil. A session of six months having now been spent in deliberation, he would ask what had been done in all that period to restore our manufactures, that important source of wealth and of military strength? So cautious had the government shown itself, that the agriculturists in general had become persuaded of its intention to keep up the protective system. You then told them they were mistaken, and you carried some free trade measures by the consistency of your opponents, and the inconsistency of many of your supporters. But your principles were unavailing, unless you applied them to the two main articles of corn and sugar. The climate of the United States and your own varied so much, as to give every probability that a deficiency of European harvests in any year might be remedied from that quarter. He believed that there existed in the United States a disposition to lower their tariff on condition of your admitting their corn; but it was a cardinal principle with the present government of Britain that she should have a sliding scale, scarcely ever admitting American corn. Now as to your finances. The scheme of the late government had been to raise the revenue, not by direct taxation, but by an increase of trade and consumption through a reduction of duties. The present government had rejected that scheme in most of its branches; but had given up a revenue of £600,000 a year on timber. There had been a great falling off in the produce of the customs, which ought to have induced the government to make some attempt for the restoration of trade. Then a property tax had been imposed, and a surplus of half a million had been promised; but the actual result had been a deficiency of two millions and a quarter; and these were the ministers who had always been taunting their opponents with similar deficiencies. Now, in what way could this be remedied? Why, firstly, by the due application of the free trade principles of the ministers themselves; secondly, by a great reduction of your military force on the close of your Asiatic wars. No explanation had been given of the reasons why a people, hitherto so orderly as the Welsh, had now broken out into insubordination. But a still more important topic was the state of Ireland. The majority of the Irish were becoming eager for repeal under the excitement of speeches inflaming them against this country, its government, and its people. It was said, that in those speeches Mr O'Connell denounced the whigs more violently than the tories. Mr O'Connell was now a tory authority!

If Mr O'Connell prefers your government of Ireland to ours—if, as he boasts, whilst you are in office his power is increased, and the patriotism of the people more strongly excited, we are not to wonder at the preference [loud cheers]. When we find that the rent has risen from £900 to £15,000 within two given periods of three months—when Mr O'Connell is able to show a better budget than the Chancellor of the Exchequer [cheers and laughter]—when his power throughout Ireland is increasing to an extent far beyond what he possessed under a whig administration, it is by no means to be wondered at that he is rejoiced to have to deal with such an administration as the present [loud cheers from the opposition benches]. When I had a share in the administration I thought it well that the government should have the support of a man who possessed so much influence amongst his countrymen. I did not think it advisable that any man in the country should possess more authority than the Lord-lieutenant, who stood there as the representative of the Queen [hear, hear].

For himself he was of opinion that the imperial parliament might effectually govern Ireland; but then Irish grievances should be taken into consideration. Comparing the repeal meetings in Ireland with that which took place at Manchester in 1818, he could not help believing that they were illegal; but considering their circumstances, he doubted whether it would have been possible to succeed in prosecutions for them. Then, were those meetings to go on? The mere dismissal of the magistrates would not stop them: that had no effect but of irritating; and any attempt to disperse the meetings by military inter-



ference would occasion a state of feeling approaching to a general anarchy.

There is another consequence, and it is that with which Mr O'Connell has threatened the government and parliament of this country—namely, that he will summon a convention in Dublin, which shall escape the penalties of the Convention act—which shall curiously and cautiously evade the law, but which, sitting in Dublin, shall exercise the power of representing the people of Ireland. Is the government prepared for such a case? If, as is very likely, Mr O'Connell does succeed, with his acuteness and ability, in evading the letter of the law, will you allow this convention to go on, and the whole power of the government to be wrested from the Lord-lieutenant, sitting helpless in the Castle at Dublin? [hear, hear]. Are you prepared to allow the government to be taken from you, and to see in any emergency suddenly start up, beyond the regular order of things, the name and title, as well as the authority and power of government? [hear, hear]. Are you prepared for this contingency or for the other? Are you prepared to introduce into this house, in such a case, simply measures of coercion and repression, refusing all redress of grievances? [hear, hear]. I point out this danger, because I think it very great, and almost imminent, and I should not do my duty in this house, as a member of the legislature, if I did not point it out, before it comes on suddenly to all appearance during the recess of parliament.

He was anxious, by evincing due regard for Irish interests, to show the Irish people that the members of the imperial parliament were really their representatives. Sir R. Peel, no doubt, had the confidence of the majority of the people, and would be able to conclude this session without any vote of the House of Commons endangering his government. But in order to make that government really secure, he ought to take measures for the welfare and conciliation of Ireland. If, between two opinions, the government should continue where they now halted, it would be matter of lasting regret that the destinies of a great nation had been left in such hands.

Sir ROBERT PEEL thought that Lord John Russell should have proposed a substantive motion of want of confidence in the government. But in abstaining from doing so, he probably acted on the advice or opinion of Lord Palmerston, who had said that if the present government were to retire from office, such was the disgust of the country with their predecessors, that ministers would have to resume office. They were charged with making no progress in legislation, notwithstanding the great majority by which they were supported. But it was not the fault of the government or its majority that they had been unable to control the practice which had grown up of prolonged and adjourned debates.

We brought forward, in the discharge of our public duty, the Irish Arms bill [hear, hear]. We brought it forward because we felt it to be a public duty to do so. Ten nights had been occupied in that bill alone in committee, and seventeen nights upon the bill altogether. On two several nights there had not been less than twenty-two or twenty-three divisions taken in reference to that bill—no doubt from conscientious motives [a laugh]. I presume that no man who originated any of these divisions, several of them on verbal questions rather than on questions of very great importance, acted otherwise than from a sense of public duty. But can we control these divisions? Eleven divisions in one night, each division occupying ten minutes or a quarter of an hour, would consume a considerable portion of time. Thus, then, I have mentioned that there were fifteen nights consumed in debate on three questions of public importance; and seventeen nights occupied by the Arms bill [“hear, hear,” from an hon. member on the opposition benches]. The hon. gentleman who cheers may not have thought that bill necessary, but if the government felt it necessary, viewing the outrages which took place from the possession of fire-arms, to take security for the maintenance of the public peace, we could not shrink from the discharge of that duty, and from asking for the sense of parliament with respect to the measure which we proposed.

He then referred to the Factories' bill, stating the reasons for its withdrawal.

We had a sincere and earnest hope that there was a widespread conviction throughout the country that a measure of this kind was necessary, and we entertained the expectation that some scheme of combined education, founded on religion and inculcating the great truths of Christianity, might be proposed to parliament, and that the church and dissenters would be content to acquiesce in its execution. This was the motive alone which induced us to prepare and propose the measure to parliament. It met with very general consent in the house of Commons. I think, speaking generally, the majority of the House of Commons was in favour of that measure, that is to say, on its abstract merits; but as there was no hope of the successful working of that measure, even if the majority of the House consented to it, unless we carried with us the cordial co-operation of those who dissented from the church, we thought it a wiser course, and one less likely to continue religious animosities, to abandon the measure, rather than to trust to the mere force of a majority for carrying it.

Sir ROBERT PEEL then entered at some length into a defence of his policy with regard to the tariff, the corn laws, the Canada Wheat bill, and the state of Wales and Ireland. The latter subject, he said, had been already amply discussed, and was to come before them again in the course of next week. They had pursued in that country a policy of forbearance; they had asked for no new powers; though certainly in the dismissal of the magistrates they used the prerogative of the Crown, in order to mark their decided disapprobation of any attempt to violate the union. As an executive government, they had governed Ireland in a spirit of impartiality, instead of through a party; and, therefore, even the taunts of the opposition were in some respects founded in truth, for in pursuing this course they had not acquired the confidence of either of the great parties which divided that country. But he did not despair of seeing a satisfactory result from their policy even in Ireland. The government, he trusted, had not forfeited the confidence of their supporters, through any partial circumstances, or temporary alienation; and in that confidence they would still continue to administer the affairs of the country.

Lord HOWICK, after adverting to the alarming consequences of great mining interests, and expressing his fears that the indications of improvement in the cotton and woollen manufactures were of a fallacious nature, declared his decided opinion that it was not because nothing had been done, that, therefore, nothing could be done. A laborious and unproductive session was drawing to a close; and the government, halting between two opinions, leaning neither to monetary nor free trade, seemed incapable of dealing with the difficulties with which we were surrounded. He hoped that before another session they would make up their minds to a bolder and more decided course of policy.

Mr HUME was dissatisfied that nothing had been done in this session, and complained of the state of trade, and of public affairs in general. He begged Sir R. Peel to disregard the opinions of his own adherents, and throw himself upon the support of the opposition.

Sir B. HALL hoped that government would not be satisfied with using coercion towards the people of Wales, but would inquire into and redress their real grievances.

Mr BROTHERTON said, that though exports might appear to be increasing, yet such increase was obtained only by a ruinous sacrifice of prices. He contended for diminution of taxation, and abolition of the corn law.

Mr GIBSON asked whether the Brazilian government, though not at liberty until 1844 to impose discriminating duties, were not entitled immediately to increase duties on all produce alike?

Sir R. PEEL believed not.

Mr V. SMITH complained that the government had not carried any measures. The Canada bill and the Arms' bill were not worth the time they had consumed. He expressed his curiosity about Scinde, and advised Sir R. Peel to recall Lord Ellenborough for indiscretion, and to govern Ireland by the moderate liberals. He exhorted the government to greater decision and despatch.

Mr ROCHE asked why the government, when they saw the majority of the Irish members opposed to the Arms' bill, did not withdraw it? He knew not on what authority Lord J. Russell had asserted that the repeal meetings were illegal.

If he wished to put the question to the test of history, it would be found difficult to discover any gatherings which could compare with them either for number or unity of feeling, except the great reform meetings, such as took place at Birmingham, for example, where the numbers were as large, and the language as strong, or (in the noble lord's vocabulary) violent, as at the repeal meetings [hear, hear]. Now, the noble lord had been then in power, acting with the responsibility of government (which it was to be presumed was at least equal to that of the opposition); yet the noble lord took no steps to suppress these assemblages, or to stigmatise them as illegal. Not a bit of it [hear, hear]! Why? Because they had been meetings of Englishmen? Or was it because they emanated from a great political agitation which had placed the noble lord's party in power, and the continuance of which was necessary to keep them there [hear]? The whigs did not possess the confidence or the sympathy of the Irish people—the Tories never had possessed it. He had observed on public questions, and particularly on Irish subjects, a sort of self-sufficiency of tone in the whigs for which there was really no reason. There was nothing in the name of whiggery to conjure for good in Ireland. And what recollections did it arouse? Remembrance of coercion! When the whigs had a majority of 400 they coerced Ireland. By thus resorting to unconstitutional measures they sowed dissension among their ranks, and reduced their majority, which, as it was dwindling away, they sought to retrieve by talking of the grievances of the Irish people; bringing forward church questions, and embodying their opinions in an “appropriation” clause; but, at last, their majority entirely disappearing, they entered into a disgraceful compromise with their opponents [loud cries of “Hear, hear”]. There was, therefore, nothing in the recollection of whiggism to create satisfaction in the minds of Irishmen; and, if the whigs wished to recover their influence in Ireland, they must undo much that they had done, and do a great deal more.

When Lord John Russell, after the Reform bill, had a large majority, he coerced Ireland; it was not till his numbers were reduced that he began to think of her grievances, and made a disgraceful compromise with his Irish opponents. The Duke of Wellington had said the government were prepared—so were the repealers; and if their grievances were not redressed, they would put England into a state of checkmate, both financial and commercial, without transgressing the limits of the constitution.

Lord J. RUSSELL said he had merely stated his opinion that some of the repeal meetings were illegal. He had not, when in office, made any compromise at all, disgraceful or otherwise.

Lord PALMERSTON, with reference to Sir R. Peel's suggestion that Lord J. Russell's attack ought to have been followed by a motion of want of confidence, maintained that an opposition, weak in numbers, but strong in argument, had a right to avail itself of its forte. Government were not entitled to complain of the recent delays; if they brought forward absurd measures, absurdly framed, ought they to make an outcry because their absurdities were exposed? A witty writer had said, that “there was nothing so tyrannical as that a ridiculous man should take people to task for laughing at him.” Again, how often had it happened that the House had not been made—or, being made, had adjourned at an early hour?

I hold in my hand a list of the days in every month of the session on which the House has adjourned at an early hour; and when, therefore, if government had wished it, progress might have been made with their measures. At any rate, the prolongation of debates did not prevent such progress from being made. In the month of February I find that the House frequently adjourned at 7, at 8, and at 6 o'clock [hear]. In March I find “No house, a quarter before 6, a quarter before 5, a quarter to 8, a quarter to 7, no house;” then a 5 o'clock adjournment; then “9, 9, 7, 7, 6, 6 [laughter], 10, 10, 6, no house, no house” [renewed laughter, and some cries of “Hear, hear,” from the opposition benches]. In the month of June I find “8—8—no house, ditto [a laugh], 8—8—7.” In every month, therefore, a number of evenings have been lost, either in consequence of there being “no house,” or in consequence of the proceedings terminating at an early hour; the government throwing away the opportunity of which they might have availed themselves for proceeding with public business [hear].

If government had, then, had business to bring on, here were sufficient opportunities. But, with respect to many of the most important measures of this session, their failure had been owing, not to the want of time, but to the resistance of large classes of the community; witness the Factory bill, with its education clauses, and the Ecclesiastical Courts bill. The whigs had been censured for having incurred a financial deficiency, which they were very sorry for; but what excuse had the present ministers for theirs? They had got the China money and the income tax, neither of which the whigs had possessed. Sir R. Peel had pleaded that this was owing to commercial embarrassments, occasioned by hostile tariffs. The way to cure those evils would have been to adopt the financial scheme of the late government. Of the hostile tariffs, the present ministers were themselves

the cause. It was natural that foreigners should raise their tariffs at the accession of a ministry whose war cry had been domestic protection. Probably, this ministry had now found, by experience, that the difficulty of accomplishing a commercial treaty might be owing to other causes than the awkwardness of the Foreign office. He could not agree that it had been proper to dismiss the Irish magistrates, for there was nothing to show the illegality of the repeal meetings, and the Chancellor of Ireland himself had taken no such ground. Perhaps, in another year, if ministers should not improve, their suggestions would receive hints from without, which might enable the opposition to cope with Sir R. Peel no less effectually in the lobby than in the discussion. His lordship, after some additional remarks on various points of domestic policy, turned to our foreign relations. Formerly the intentions of England were to be learned at London, but now the inquirer would discover them by application at Paris or St Petersburg. Their policy abroad was precisely that which they ought to adopt at home—that of concession; and, on the affairs of Scinde, they carefully refused to give any information which would commit the government to approval or disapproval of Lord Ellenborough's policy. But parliament should not be allowed to separate without a distinct explanation on this important subject. Turning to other parts of the world, to Turkey and to Spain, whose independence it was peculiarly our business to watch over, he expressed his regret at the revolution which had occurred, and which all the world believed to have been brought about by money and instigations from France. Were they to sit by contented, and see a French prince sitting on the throne of Spain? He next adverted to the position of government.

They were brought into power by a greater acclamation of public opinion than perhaps has ever yet, or at least often, greeted the accession to office of any government [cheers and counter cheers]. They came in with an overwhelming majority; that majority they still retain [ironical cheers]. But if I ask them if they still retain the personal confidence of those who give them their political support [cheers and counter cheers]?—if I ask them if they retain the confidence of those portions of the people of this country by whose votes at elections that majority was returned which placed the present government in power?—if I ask them, whether in public or in private, they retain the good word of those who are their political adherents?—they must confess that in that respect their condition is lamentably changed [cheers]. Sir, I really almost feel, that common generosity ought to prevent us from pressing too hard upon a fallen foe [cheers and a laugh]. I might almost say their state now, as compared with what it was, might “point a moral and adorn a tale” [a laugh]. But, sir, there are topics far too serious now to be discussed, and too important to the public, to allow us to dwell simply on personal considerations applying to the individuals who may happen to be in the government. It is impossible for any one to look at the state of the country in all its domestic relations, and in its foreign relations, without the greatest possible anxiety—a certain degree of anxiety with regard to abroad, but a more intense degree of anxiety with regard to what is passing at home [cheers]. I agree with the right hon. baronet that there is nothing in the present state of things which ought to lead any man to despair—there is nothing in any degree alarming in the symptoms which have shown themselves anywhere, that should lead us to think that a wise and enlightened government, having views of its own—not like the present government, in

“A mighty maze, and all without a plan” [cheers]—there is nothing that a wise and enlightened government, having views of its own, being united in those views, and having energy enough to follow them out, could not surmount, and by surmounting restore the country to tranquillity and prosperity.

It was not so much the state of the country that now alarmed him as the character of the ministry. He entreated them not to let parliament separate without some hopes of better things; he would have them take a bolder line—bold, not in action, but in conciliation. Then, if not from their friends, yet from their opponents, they would receive a disinterested support.

Lord STANLEY doubted whether even the discussion of that evening were a very useful employment of that time, about the waste of which so much had been said. The noble lord had assumed for his own side a vast superiority in debate. If he meant in point of length, perhaps it was so; but the frequent failures in making or keeping a house, chiefly on evenings not devoted to government business, did look a little as if the house in general failed to appreciate the oratorical powers of that party. After a justification of the abandonment of their measures by the government, he said Lord Palmerston had regretted the whig deficiency; but all that the whigs ever did was to regret it. They did nothing to repair it, whereas this government had boldly, and at all risk of unpopularity, imposed an income tax, the produce of which was only half collected at the point of time at which the deficiency was alleged by Lord Palmerston to exist, the uncollected half being more than sufficient to cover that deficiency. He controverted Lord Palmerston's statements respecting the Afghan and Chinese wars, showing the insufficiency of the arrangements and provisions made by the whig ministry. It had been objected that the free trade principle had not been followed out in full. No; and any government which should attempt any such thing, in the complicated state of our commercial affairs, would bring the country into inextricable difficulties; but so far from making prohibition their war cry, the present ministers had brought in the largest measure of relaxation ever passed. He explained, with reference to an allusion of Lord Palmerston, the reason why the Scotch Church bill had not been earlier introduced; and excused himself from going into the question of Ireland and her church. No doubt it was true, that



when the whigs were in office, people asked, on every movement abroad, what England was going to do; and this would be found to be connected with the policy of the noble lord.

But, first of all, his foreign policy is the great thing upon which the noble lord piques himself, and what great result has the noble lord to show upon the subject that should lead the government to follow his footsteps? He says, "If there were any quarrel between two great states of Europe, the first question was, 'What is England going to do?' and why?"

Lord PALMERSTON.—On any great event.

Lord STANLEY.—An incident, perhaps [loud ironical cheers and laughter]. As soon as wars or rumours of wars arose in any quarter of the globe, then, said the noble lord—and he takes peculiar credit to himself for saying so—the first question asked was, "What is England going to do?" No, not what is England going to do, but what is Downing street going to do? or rather, he might have said, what is Lord Palmerston going to do [laughter]? That was the first question; for it is notorious that Downing street, or rather the noble lord with whom I had the honour of serving under Lord Grey's government, on the principle of non-interference, whenever anything arose in the pettiest state in any quarter of the globe, must say something [great laughter]. That was the case so long as the noble lord was at the head of foreign affairs; and therefore says the noble lord, "the first question always was, 'What is England going to do?'" [a laugh]. But you left foreign affairs with France, I suppose, on a very satisfactory footing? "No," says the noble lord, "it is true there was a temporary irritation—just at that moment everything was wrong; but if we had remained in three months longer, everything would have been right" [a laugh].

France was absolutely his (Lord Palmerston's) *bête noire*. Lord Stanley then maintained that all possible support had been given to the Spanish Regent, with whom he expressed his strong sympathy. And lastly, he referred to Lord Palmerston's anticipation of political changes—

He (Lord Stanley) confessed, in spite of all those rumours of discord and dissent which appeared to have reached the noble lord, and which had raised his hopes to their present moderate height, he (Lord Stanley) was unaware of any foundation on that (the ministerial) side of the house for any such hopes, and he feared he could not hold out any prospect that that alternative would be prevented which he told them the country would have rejected. He believed that by pursuing a straightforward and steady course, not by introducing or not introducing this or that bill, not by pretending to believe that the evils of the country could be relieved by some great clap-net measures, to make a noise for a time, but never to be brought into practical operation, but by a steady perseverance, an assiduous attention to the interests of the country, by neglecting no opportunity of obtaining small advantages [oh!—yes, small advantages in the way of legislation, which, if not as showy as those suggested by some honourable gentlemen opposite, might be of greater practicality]. He thought that such a course would secure the government that which he believed they did possess—the confidence of the country; and that by persevering steadily and determinedly in that course, that they should be found able to administer the affairs of the country, even to the disappointment of the newly-raised expectations of the noble lord [cheers].

Mr LABOUCHERE, with much warmth, denied that any provision for the Chinese war had been neglected by the whig government, and took Lord Stanley severely to task for such an assertion against political opponents. He vindicated Lord Palmerston against the charge of indiscriminate opposition to France. He expressed his disappointment that Sir R. Peel had not, either for this session, or, as it seemed, for the next, any measure which would tend to the relief of the public distress, and declared his persuasion that the present inaction of the Irish government would bring on disastrous consequences.

Lord STANLEY assured Mr Labouchere that if he would move for any papers containing instructions given by the late government for the Chinese war, they should be produced without reserve, and the house might then judge of his accuracy.

Mr MUNTZ complained that nothing had been said about the home trade, which was the worst of all. The improvement alleged by Sir R. Peel was all ideal. He contended for a larger property tax in substitution of other taxes, and related the following anecdote for the benefit of Sir Robert Peel:—

The right honourable baronet, however, was too fond of waiting for the chances of improvement. He reminded him of the boy who was sent to fetch a rice pudding from the oven ["hear, hear," and laughter]. The boy, on his way home, ate the skin off the pudding, and, sitting down by the way side, the skin grew again, and he took the pudding home, and was not discovered. Afterwards, however he was sent for a sucking pig, under similar circumstances, and remembering his former good luck, he quietly sat down and ate the skin off the sucking pig. He waited in vain for the revival of the skin, and when at length his friends sent to look for him, he was found lamenting that the skin would not grow again. And so it was with the right honourable baronet; unless he took care to alter his course of legislation—unless he abandoned his system of waiting for improvement, and took active measures, the skin would never grow upon his sucking pig [loud laughter and cheers].

Lord CLEMENTS then made a few observations amidst considerable interruption. He concluded as follows:—

He felt bound, as a member of that House, to consider the interests of the empire, but more particularly those of that country which he came to represent. He would not trouble them further at that late hour [an ironical cheer]. Yes, you cheer, said the noble lord, but I warn you—I warn you of this—and now listen to my warning [a laugh]. I warn you that if you will place chains upon the Irish people you must bear to hear them clank ["Oh, oh," and cheers]. Hear them clank you will, said the noble lord very violently. Hear them clank you will. If you make us chains you must hear them clank [a laugh]. There—I have nothing more to say to you [a shout of laughter and ironical cheering].

After a few words from Mr MORRIS, the debate concluded, and the supply was postponed.

Monday, July 31st.

#### CHURCH OF SCOTLAND BENEFICES BILL.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM moved the second reading of this bill. The bill, he said, was introduced to remove the doubts which unhappily had arisen upon the question of right as between the church-goers and the lay patrons. The Presbyterian religion had been first adopted by the lower and middle classes; the gentry and the aristocracy had been later in their adhesion to it; and hence had arisen much dispute. Having first sketched the history of the question down to the revolution, he came to the act of 1690, which he considered as establishing—1st, that no right was given to disapprovers, except for reason assigned. 2ndly, that the presbytery are to act judicially, and not ministerially. 3dly, that their judicial discretion is to be exercised upon the identical reasons assigned by the church-goers. The statute of Anne, which took the patronage from the elders and Kirk session, and restored it to the lay portions, did not supersede those principles; and

upon them was founded the act now presented to the House. The letter which he had addressed to the Moderator in the beginning of this year, though bearing only his own signature, was to be considered as the letter of the government, and had been written after full consultation with the Lord-advocate and Solicitor-general of Scotland; and he now stated to the House the outline of that letter, with a running commentary. In answer to the objection, that the bill was "too late," he said that the government could not interfere while the church of Scotland was in opposition to the law of the land; but that objection having been removed by the acts of the assembly, the present measure was now introduced, in the hope of securing and building up a church which he believed still retained its place in the hearts and affections of the people.

Mr WALLACE rose to oppose the bill, which, he said, so far from removing doubts, would be the means of exciting a litigation hitherto unknown. It secured the rights of the clergy, but destroyed those of the people; would materially affect that most useful institution, the system of parochial education in Scotland; and it was brought forward at so late a period of the session, that no due consideration could be given to a measure which, so far as he understood it, was an alteration of the constitution, and would involve the Queen in a violation of the coronation oath. He moved that the bill be read a second time that day six months.

Mr A. B. COCHRANE also objected to the bill, mainly on the ground that it substantially transferred the rights of the patrons to the presbyteries or church courts.

Mr RUTHERFORD followed, expressing his surprise at the introduction of the bill at so late a period of the session. Scotland was formerly blessed with a church which enjoyed the confidence of the nation, but now it had the confidence of none. Warmly eulogising the conduct of the seceders, who had acted from deep conscientious feeling, as evinced by no less than two hundred licentiates voluntarily abandoning those prospects which constituted the highest object of their ambition; he proceeded, in a lengthened and learned argument, to show that the original limitations on the rights of lay patronage had not been affected by subsequent enactments, as the statute of Queen Anne, and that therefore the right of the people to object generally to a presentee, and of the church courts to sustain the objection, existed in law, of which the Veto act of the assembly was an assertion. The bill professed to be "declaratory," but where was the law to be found which it professed to "declare"? Nay, if it were only declaratory, whence the necessity of announcing the consent of the Crown to the introduction of the measure? The bill was, in fact, "enactive;" it changed the constitution of the church of Scotland, as secured by statute; it interfered with the rights of patrons, and altered the internal government of the church, by interfering with its judicatories; and in handing over the rights of the patrons to the church—the priesthood—it vested them in the worst depositaries which could be devised, for "presbyter was but priest writ large." He went on to argue against the bill at considerable length, and concluded by averring that it should have been introduced before the secession; but in the present temper of the people it would only aggravate all its evils, and drive more of the members of the establishment from it.

Sir WILLIAM FOLLETT (the solicitor-general) differed from Mr Rutherford as to the propriety of introducing the bill before the secession. The claims of the non-intrusionists were such as no government could sanction or satisfy, seeing they sought the total abrogation of patronage, and even taught that the church courts could set at defiance the acts of the imperial legislature. But the present measure, whose object was the removing of doubts, was acceptable to the General Assembly, and those adhering to the established church. The law of Scotland was clearly that the patron presented, that the people had the right of objecting on the ground of "life, literature, and doctrine;" and the presbytery decided on these objections. The present bill was expressly framed, as its preamble expressed, to "remove doubts that have arisen" as to the legal interpretation of the extent and limits of these rights; it secured to the people the full right of objection, and to the presbyteries the full power of deciding; and on these and other grounds of detail, he supported the bill.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said that, as the acknowledged learning and undisputed ability of the Solicitor-general had failed to answer the admirable speech of Mr Rutherford, it was a convincing proof that there was something essentially wrong in the bill. The highest legal authorities of the House of Lords had protested against the bill as being "declaratory" of that which was not the law of Scotland; but a political majority, in order to testify their regard for Lord Aberdeen, and their confidence in his management of our foreign affairs, supported the bill, and overthrew solemn judicial decisions. He was ashamed, after such a speech as Mr Rutherford's, to go into the details of the bill, which "declared" the law of Scotland to be in a very strange and confused state, and conferred new powers on the church, as where it enabled a presbytery to give effect to the objections of two or three individuals, upon whom it might look favourably, and neglect the opinions of the great majority, who might be satisfied. The bill might not have retained the seceders had it been brought forward before the secession, but he was assured that it was not satisfactory to those who now remained.

He (Lord J. Russell) had been told that even those who remained in the establishment were adverse to the bill. He had heard, from Edinburgh, that so far from it being a fact that the bill would give satisfaction, the fact was the contrary way, and that there were many who considered the bill not only beneficial, but highly injurious to the church of Scotland. Having

already lost a large and valuable majority by the late secession from the church, they should take care not to press forward a measure which, instead of conciliating the remainder, would be calculated to engender fresh divisions [hear, hear]. It would be far better, and more discreet, not to legislate at all than to legislate in such a manner as would only tend to create a new breach in the establishment [cheers]. They should take care that in attempting to conciliate the high church party, whose opposition they dreaded after the schism which had taken place, they should not inflict a greater injury on the church by introducing a measure which might separate the people from the establishment to a still greater extent. If, on the one side, they had a body in which the clergy and the presbytery should be possessed of a power as great as any which the pope ever possessed, and, on the other side, they had a body following the free church of Scotland, they might pronounce the church establishment in Scotland useless; and the people of that country, instead of respecting and venerating that church as they formerly did, would come to parliament to demand the abolition of the establishment [cheers].

Sir GEORGE CLERK defended the bill.

Mr F. MAULE, as one of the seceders, said that he, and those who had taken the same course with him, had quitted the church with regret, and still regarded it with affection. As to this measure, they looked upon it with indifference; indeed, it seemed likely to increase the numbers of the seceders by causing further schisms in the establishment, and it was objectionable by reason of the power which it gave to the high church party. It was not Lord Aberdeen's bill of 1840, but it was that bill with many of Sir G. Sinclair's additions. It would be found unsatisfactory to the Scotch laity, who did not desire an increase in the power of the clergy. He should not, however, himself, in any future stage of the bill, give any trouble to the government.

Mr CAMPBELL followed on the same side.

Sir ROBERT PEEL objected to many of the arguments used in the debate, as having no bearing on the question before the House, and which he criticised with some verbal minuteness. The offer of the government to legislate was officially communicated to the last General Assembly, and accepted by that body; and the object of the bill, thus sanctioned, was to do that for which the Assembly was incompetent, to give a legal definition of the rights of patrons, people, and church courts. The constitution and spirit of Presbyterianism gave the people the right of objection, and the presbyteries the right of decision; and this, which was the usage from the earliest times, was the leading feature of the bill. He called on them, therefore, to confirm the principle by carrying the second reading, leaving details for future discussion. The measure, he believed, was acceptable to the great body of the people of Scotland; and the secession would have been much larger, but for the prospect of its introduction.

After a few words of explanation from Mr A. CAMPBELL, the house divided:—

For the second reading ..... 98  
Against it ..... 80

Majority ..... 18

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

On Friday night, Mr Bright, the new member for the city of Durham, was introduced by Mr Brotherton and Doctor Bowring, and was received with loud cheers from the opposition benches.

SCOTCH CHURCH.—Mr Bannerman having asked whether the professors who had joined the free church had been removed from their professorships, Sir James Graham said, that many had voluntarily surrendered their appointments, but the appointments in different universities were held under different tenures. In some the parties were not required to hold office, as in the Greek professorship in Glasgow, which was held by an episcopalian.

REORGANISATION OF THE YEOMANRY CAVALRY.—Mr Fox Maule said, that it would be in the recollection of the House that his noble friend (Lord John Russell), during his administration of the affairs of the Home office, had made a great reduction in the yeomanry, whereby a saving of nearly £20,000 per annum had been effected. Several corps had volunteered to act without pay, and their offers had been accepted. He begged to inquire whether the government still availed themselves of their services? Sir J. Graham said, that the arrangement was, that the yeomanry cavalry were about to be re-organised to the extent of 1,200 men, who would receive the usual pay and allowances. The cost to be incurred had been included in the estimates of this year.

#### HOUSE OF LORDS.

With the exception of one or two uninteresting conversations, and the passing of bills through their various stages without discussion, in this branch of the legislature nothing has occurred worthy of notice.

LANDLORD AND TENANT.—On Tuesday, Lord Portman withdrew the bill which he had introduced to the House of Lords on Friday, for amending the law of landlord and tenant; there not being sufficient time to discuss the measure this session. The most important provision of the bill was to guarantee compensation to tenants for improvements on the lands they occupy.

#### The Complete Suffrage Movement.

The Council of the National Complete Suffrage Union held their weekly meeting at Birmingham, on Monday afternoon; the president in the chair.

Letters were read from Mr J. Williams, Bishop-wearmouth; the Rev. P. Brewster, Paisley; Benjamin Dixon, Stoke Newington; William Hollis, Cheltenham; James Parmenter, Bocking; Wm Kelso, Paisley; James Clark, Saltcoats; James Henderson, Saltcoats; R. Somers, Newton Stewart; H. A. Collier, Leicester; Rev. Thos White, Northampton; Edward Davy, Crediton; John Hills, Sunderland; and John Pinkerton, Glasgow.

The information contained in the letters, as to the present position and prospects of the complete suf-



franchise movement, was of a very encouraging description, particularly the announcement, by the correspondent of the Union at Sunderland, of Mr Bright's return for Durham; Mr Bright being a complete suffragist as well as a free trader.

The following extracts from the letter of the Rev. Thos White, Northampton, will be read with interest:—

"First then, sir, we were concerned about Ireland—there is a great stir and much popular feeling excited, and we are desirous it should be directed in the way most conducive to the common weal of the people. The naturally irritable state of the people, their long borne oppression, and their continued woes, made us solicitous to strengthen their hands, encourage their hearts, and prove to them we were not only friends, but had for them the interests of brethren in our hearts; and at the meeting of our body, we passed a resolution, sympathising with them, of which the following is a copy—

"Resolved unanimously—

"That we, the Northampton Complete Suffrage association, do most sincerely sympathise with Ireland in her present struggle for the right to meet to discuss her grievances, and to adopt what course the majority of her people may deem expedient (we make no reference to her demands, nor to the mode adopted to obtain redress); it is enough to know she has deep woes, unmitigated distress, uncare-for wrongs, and oppressive burdens. About these she ought to meet; and against these all legitimate resistance, all wise and prudent deliberative opposition may justly be called into existence.

"And we, the Northampton Complete Suffrage association, do rejoice at the orderly, peaceful, and business-like way in which our Irish fellow-countrymen, in the face of a formidable array of military power, have assembled and dispersed; and do trust, however provoking the military or civil force may be, that the temperance, which has made Ireland wise in counsel, will make her peaceful in determining. Then shall her people conquer without force, and be victorious without the sword, for virtue and right principles are more terrible than an army with banners."

After giving a circumstantial account of a vigorous attempt to return a complete suffrage candidate to the town council the other week. Mr White goes on to say—

"Our great object in these contests must be to do right for its own sake; and, though our attempts may at first be unsuccessful, yet will our courage be strengthened by defeat, and success at last compensate the struggles. One thing in this election was made more apparent to good men than ever, namely, the peaceful and virtuous effects upon the population by our system; drunkenness and riot characterised our opponents—bribes filled their hands, and vice their hearts—for never were there more excesses than on Tuesday last, the day of election; while the calm, thoughtful, and sober elector for the suffrage candidate came to the poll, and retired to his work, conscious he had done what he could, unsolicited and unbought. Our elections have frightfully demoralised the people; the very slavery of despotism has bound them, and bribes and drink have bought and sold the nation. The hollow and insincere acts of our legislature are but the necessarily just result of the means employed in getting to that house; they pay the people to get there, and then pay themselves from the people, when there, with large interest. There it is that office is made and place provided; and the greater part of the acts of parliament are for these ends only—commissioners, officers, ambassadors, clerks, and stipendiaries of all names and stations, all grow out of this; then come payments and emoluments, and so the need of taxation. We must begin at the beginning—we must be right upon first principles; and as complete suffrage men will incur no expenses but those arising simply from the case, so they will not bribe nor treat; and the quiet and peaceful way in which our elections will be carried on, will be of great moral good, much to be desired by all who love their species.

"Our next and third step is to organise election committees, and to appoint district visitors to look after streets and persons, so as to bring the town under direct observation; this will be attended with difficulty, because, while enthusiasm and popular commotion will prompt to effort, it soon breaks down, yields to obstruction, and gives way in the time when most needed; it is the slow, sure, and continuous effort that is likely to be effective. Hence arises much of our disappointment—men offer to work on the spur of the moment, who are but men of impulses, and who, beyond the excitement, seem incapable of action; but we must try for this object—much hinges upon a right movement here; good men are mostly timid men, and too often looking just upon the surface brought under their notice, they pronounce it dangerous to take part where such men as they fix their eye upon are. But if religious men would not condemn irreligious men, as though they were the sole judges of the matter, much every way would be gained—but to condemn men for dissimilar opinions, and then say they are dangerous without inquiry, and refuse association and co-operation because of that difference, is not the religion of the New Testament, nor the Christianity which hopeth all things. The fact is, men have quarrelled about religion, have disputed about shadows, have been uncompromising and bigoted about creeds, but have suffered godliness, which teaches to love as brethren, to be unsustained. It is out of this narrow and sectarian field we must come; it is to great principles and to truth we must come; it is to the high and magnanimous standard of right we must come; and all must be made to exhibit this as our intention; good men will then see that there is nothing bad in universal suffrage but the name—and that when its equity is fully discerned, it will rather be defined as a good than an evil; and that, when its working is tried, it will be found of moral benefit to all, chasing from society its corrupt habit, and more corrupting usage of bribe and threat, which has debased so many, and desolated such a crowd."

As a remedy for these evils, Mr White suggests—

"To meet this state of things we want light and information circulated by oral teachers and literary productions; of the latter I do not think we are lacking; but, however kindly and solicitously circulated, yet are they not read. I cannot but think we should do well to induce readers at public rooms, or among select parties. Suffrage tracts are chartist tracts, and chartist tracts are revolutionary tracts, and so preconceived opinion and foregone conclusion hinders, prevents, and even renders our cause unpopular."

And concludes with the following excellent remarks—

"Our movement, as well as being one of principle, must be eminently one of peace. Many have been, and many continue to be, driven from us because, while we condemn dictation, we are forward to use it. We must adopt the true spirit of the gospel, and do good to those

who hate us; melt men rather than mar our system. We have the least controlled spirits amongst us, and the least disposed by education to make concessions; but we must show them a more excellent way—we must labour for good men, and, by all means, get such amongst us, and, when with us, learn of them."

The Council have been for some time past considering various suggestions, with a view to the more effectual propagation of our principles in every district of the country, and are very desirous to obtain the services of some gentlemen well acquainted with the wants and wishes of the people, and who could devote a short time to prepare the way for the practical adoption of some popular mode of agitation. In connexion with this object, the following resolution was passed:—

"That Mr Thomas Beggs, of Nottingham, be respectfully requested to visit as many of the towns in the counties of Northampton, South Stafford, Salop, Worcester, and Warwick, as he can conveniently undertake, especially those returning members of parliament, for the purpose of holding select or more public meetings, organising complete suffrage committees, and furthering the cause in any other way he may conceive most suitable to the local circumstances of each particular town."

Mr Beggs having complied with the request, the President, the Treasurer, and Secretary, were appointed a committee to co-operate with him in giving effect to the foregoing resolution.

The quarterly meeting of the Union is to be held on Monday next at eight o'clock.

MANCHESTER.—The Manchester Complete Suffrage Union have issued the following address to the electors and non-electors of Durham:—

"Fellow-countrymen—Durham has nobly done its duty! In spite of influence from without, and of bigotry from within, John Bright, the honest and most able advocate and representative of righteous principles, has been returned triumphantly to parliament! The unenfranchised millions cried aloud for full and fair representation—for fair play for their labour—fettered commerce and oppressed industry (speaking through the ruined capitalist, the bankrupt trader, and the deceived agriculturist) protested against the monopolist parliament as not representing popular interests and general opinion—all demanded an opportunity of proving their detestation of class legislation, and of its offspring, monopoly. Durham has become the mouth-piece of the nation, and has sent abroad the fiat 'that the people will their freedom!' Freedom for the unenfranchised—freedom for industry—freedom for religion—freedom, in everything, for each and for all. Honour, then, to the electors and non-electors of Durham for their glorious achievement! In making John Bright your representative you have shown your just estimation of the qualities necessary to political leadership—by choosing a man whose virtues give lustre to his talents—whose talents are worthy of the cause he espouses—and whose courage and self-devotion guarantee his continued, unflinching, and uncompromising support of the interests of the people, against the undue pretensions of their enemies. Not only must your successfully-concluded contest reflect honour upon yourselves, and be regarded as an electoral triumph never exceeded, but it must especially be viewed as the victory of principles, at last re-appearing in the persons of honest and single-hearted men—principles based upon immutable truth, and all-powerful in consequence of their justice. It shows that men are beginning to embrace and hold fast the doctrine that all men possess an equality in natural rights, and have an equal interest in the result of government—and that, therefore, all men ought to have their opinions and their rights represented in the councils of the state. It shows that men will no longer be led to believe in the national gain of a system of pretended 'protection,' which robs the useful and industrious portions of the community, to enrich those who neither toil nor spin, and who contribute little or nothing to the true nobleness, the real greatness, or the solid prosperity of the empire. It shows, in fact, that England is at length determined to make 'justice' the watchword in every political struggle, and to insist upon it, as the standard whereby to measure class pretensions, and as the only rule by which to guide future legislation. Thanking you for your exertions to promote the universal welfare of the people, in the election of a man holding and avowing the principles of complete suffrage, as the best means of discharging your duty to your country and to yourselves—congratulating the United Kingdom upon your success, and hoping for the speedy arrival of an opportunity by which every borough and county in the land may equally distinguish itself—we conclude by fervently wishing that your noble example may be as nobly imitated; and that justice-loving and enlightened constituencies in every portion of the empire may have the good fortune to discover, and the good sense to elect, men in every way worthy to co-operate with him who is now your honoured representative. Signed on behalf of the Union.

JOHN BROOKS, President.

JAS. NELSON, Hon. Sec.

Union Rooms, 4, Lever street, July 26, 1843.

COMPLETE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN DEVON AND CORNWALL.—We understand that Henry Vincent is on a visit to these important counties, and we hope the friends of the good cause will avail themselves of this opportunity for a successful promulgation of suffrage principles. This is the time for the real friends of liberty to be making peaceful progress. The old parliamentary machinery is fast wearing out—the whigs and tories are held in universal disesteem—the condition of the country hourly grows worse, and the only hope left appears to be an earnest and general movement for complete suffrage. We advise our Cornish and Devon friends to prepare immediately for vigorous agitation.

BRENTFORD.—At the last meeting of the Complete Suffrage association six electors and several non-electors were admitted members. The meeting expressed their great satisfaction at the result of the Durham election, but regretted that Mr Bright had not given greater prominence to the suffrage question in his addresses to his constituents. It was also resolved that the Rev. Mr Spencer and Mr H. Vincent should be requested to lecture at Brentford at their earliest convenience. The *Nonconformist* is taken by the association for the use of its members, and is also to be seen at the Reading room of the Mechanics' institu-

tion. It has likewise a considerable private circulation. The association will, in future, meet once every fortnight, and will be glad to co-operate with the metropolitan associations.

COLCHESTER REFORM CLUB.—At the annual meeting of this society, on Monday, the 24th inst., it was unanimously resolved to invite Joseph Sturge, Esq., and other friends of complete suffrage, to a public tea meeting, with the view of furthering the objects of the Complete Suffrage Union in the borough of Colchester.—*Ipswich Express*.

OPPOSITION IN THE AYRSHIRE ELECTION.—If the whigs will not stir in opposition to the tory heir to Auchencruive, for the county of Ayr, we are happy at being able to announce the probability of opposition from another quarter. The Birmingham council of the Complete Suffrage association have resolved to support a candidate for Ayrshire, if a suitable person can be found, and we understand a meeting is to be held in Ayr this day, for the purpose of arranging for the contest, and taking the sense of the practical reformers in the county on the subject. A member of the faculty of advocates, who has never yet appeared as a candidate before any constituency, but who is a thorough reformer, and well qualified for the situation, has been spoken of as a probable candidate for the occasion; but, till he has made up his mind to come forward, it would be uncourteous to give publicity to his name. Should the learned gentleman, however, consent to stand, the reformers of Ayrshire will have an opportunity of recording their votes in favour of one of the most zealous and consistent supporters of liberal principles, and the freedom of the human race generally, which Scotland can at this day boast of.—*Glasgow Saturday Post*.

CUPAR, FIFESHIRE.—On the evening of Friday last, another of the series of monthly lectures, under the auspices of the Markinch Complete Suffrage association, was delivered by Mr Brunton of Cupar, in the Hall there, Mr W. Tullis in the chair. Before introducing the lecturer, the chairman said he held in his hand a receipt for certain sums of money collected for a testimonial to Mr Rowland Hill for his exertions in establishing the uniform penny postage—and which he had that day paid to Mr Mitchell, of Cupar, for the purpose of purchasing a copy of Scott's *Novels*, as a present to Mr Hill. The sum paid was £4 7s.; one pound seven of which was collected in small sums, and the rest, from donations of one pound each. Mr Brunton then delivered an elaborate, historical, and exceedingly well-written essay, embracing almost every feature of the progress of learning since the most remote period of the history of man. At the conclusion, a vote of thanks to the lecturer was unanimously awarded. We were happy to observe that the attendance on these lectures is nothing diminished, a proof of the interest felt in the subjects brought forward for discussion. We understand that the committee have agreed to suspend the delivery of the remaining lectures until the harvest operations, when a soirée will be held, at which a number of talented speakers will be invited, after which the lectures will be held in regular succession during the winter.—*Fife Herald*.

The Queen gave a second state ball on Monday evening at Buckingham palace, which was numerously attended by members of the diplomatic corps, and the nobility and gentry. The green drawing room, the picture gallery, and the grand saloon, were opened for the reception of the general company, the gallery being elegantly ornamented at each end with choice shrubs and flowers. The Queen and Prince Albert entered the ball room with the guests at the Palace, the King of Hanover, the Duchess of Kent, the Duke, Duchess, and Prince George of Cambridge, and the Duchess of Gloucester. The ball room and the throne room were used for dancing; reserved seats being placed in recesses in each for the convenience of the royal persons and principal guests. At half-past eleven o'clock, the Queen passed to the throne room, in which her Majesty danced. A splendid supper was served in the long dining room at half-past twelve. After supper the Queen returned to the ball room, preceded by her piper playing on the bagpipes; and dancing recommenced. Quadrilles and waltzes were continued till a late hour.

On Monday afternoon the Queen and Prince Albert visited the National gallery, and remained examining the pictures for some time.

ROYAL VISIT TO THE NEW HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.—On Saturday, the Queen, Prince Albert, and a select suite, visited the new houses of parliament. No preparations had been made to receive the royal visitors, although they were expected. On Friday, Prince Albert honoured Mr Barry, the architect, with an interview, and informed that gentleman of her Majesty's intention; but at the same time begged it to be distinctly understood that, as the visit would be private, the labour of the workmen should not be suspended, or in any way interfered with, and these instructions were implicitly obeyed. The royal party were first conducted through the speaker's court to the river terrace. The splendid view that this noble terrace affords was not lost to the royal party; her Majesty especially remarked upon it. Her Majesty greatly admired the heraldic sculpture of the frontage. The Queen, previous to leaving the works, was pleased to express her high approbation of the present appearance of the new houses of parliament, and acknowledged in flattering terms the attentions of Mr Barry and Mr Grissel, the contractor. This was the Queen's first visit to the house, and it occupied about an hour and a half. Her Majesty appeared in excellent health.



**ROYAL VISIT TO THE THAMES TUNNEL.**—On Wednesday the Queen, Prince Albert, the Prince of Saxe-Gotha, the Princess Clementine, and other distinguished personages, now on a visit to her Majesty, honoured the Thames tunnel with a visit. The tunnel pier, on which it was announced that her Majesty and the Prince would land, was covered with crimson cloth, and a temporary ladder was fixed on the outer barge for her Majesty and suite to ascend. On her arrival, her Majesty proceeded at once down the shaft into the tunnel, and entered the western arch, where the cheers were renewed by the company assembled. Mr Young, the superintendent of police, and the inspectors, preceded the Queen, and Mr Page walked by the side of her Majesty, and explained the nature of the works, and various particulars connected with this great national undertaking, to which her Majesty and her royal consort paid much attention. Her Majesty proceeded as far as the shaft on the Rotherhithe side, but did not ascend it. The heat was very great, and both the Queen and Prince appeared anxious to return, which they did through the same arch. Upon ascending the shaft they were again cheered, and had got about half way up, when the people below commenced the national anthem, "God save the Queen," which was sung in a very creditable manner, more than 600 persons joining in the chorus. Their voices reverberated along the tunnel and up the shaft, and had a most extraordinary effect. On making their appearance in the street, the concourse of people was so great, that the police had some difficulty in clearing a passage. The aquatic procession was a very splendid one. The Queen's watermen and the admiralty bargemen were dressed in their scarlet liveries, and an immense number of boats of every description accompanied the state barges. When off the Tower, the royal barge was almost run into by the Syren steamer, coming up the river in a contrary direction. The rudder of the royal barge was put hard over, and fortunately the collision was avoided, but some of the distinguished party were greatly alarmed. According to the reports in the papers, Prince Albert looked serious, the Princess Clementine appeared frightened, but the Queen laughed heartily, and did not exhibit the least symptoms of fear. The captain of the Syren, who ought to have stopped much earlier than he did, and who had nearly caused a very serious accident, seemed more frightened than any of the people in the royal barge. The rudder attached to the galley of the superintendent of the river police was knocked away by the royal barge, with which it came in too close contact, and the boat itself narrowly escaped being run down. The hint was sufficient, and the police boats afterwards kept at a respectful distance. It is said that her Majesty's next trip by water will be to Greenwich hospital, an event that will be hailed with much joy by the veterans of that noble institution.

The *Standard* states that the Queen has ordered £30,000 to be paid to the Earl of Haddington out of the crown land revenues, as compensation for the right which he resigns to the hereditary keepership of Holyrood park. The park is to be annexed to the crown lands. The Earl had waived pecuniary compensation.

**PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.**—It is now generally stated that the Houses of Parliament will not be prorogued until the last week in August.

**PRESENTATION OF THE PEACE MEMORIAL TO LOUIS PHILIPPE, KING OF THE FRENCH, &c., &c.**—The memorial to the governments of the civilised world, adopted at the general Peace convention lately held in London, on the importance of nations agreeing by treaty stipulations to settle their disputes by a reference to umpires mutually chosen, was presented to the King of the French on the 20th instant, by a deputation consisting of Messrs G. C. Beckwith, Thomas Cock, Amasa Walker, and J. R. Willis, from the United States of America; and Rev. W. Touse, of Paris, one of the officers of the society of Christian Morals, the Marquis de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt being necessarily absent. His Majesty gave the deputation a very gracious audience, and assured them he was very happy to receive such a communication. He said he felt a great interest in the subject, and had certainly done all he could to preserve peace in Europe. "Peace," said his Majesty, "is what we all want. Thank God! war now costs too much to be often waged; and I trust the day is coming when we shall get rid of it entirely in the civilised world." His Majesty spoke of arbitration as an excellent substitute for war, alluded to several instances of its successful application, and remarked how perfectly consistent it was, in those cases, with the dignity of the parties concerned. On other points relative to the subject of peace, the King expressed himself very freely in terms highly gratifying to the deputation, and promised to take the subject of the memorial into favourable consideration.

**PEACE.**—A society for the Promotion of Universal Peace has been established in the borough of Sunderland. At a meeting lately held, an eloquent lecture was delivered by the Rev. D. K. Shoebottom, of Dundee; and at the conclusion the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—"That all wars are sinful, and opposed to the office of Jesus Christ."

Mr Baron Alderson, who is on the Norfolk circuit, has had a return of an illness which a short time since almost threatened his life. It is feared that he will not be able to resume his judicial functions during the present assizes.

We have to announce that Lord Stuart de Rothsay, the English ambassador at the court of St Petersburg, is about to be recalled, and his lordship's place in that capital is to be supplied by the Duke of Beaufort.—*Court Journal*.

There are only two instances of quakers having been returned to parliament, and it is remarkable that one was for the county and the other the city of Durham: Joseph Pease, of Darlington, represented the southern division of the county after the passing of the Reform bill; and John Bright, of Rochdale, has now been returned for the city.

Our war steam ships form no less a proportion than one-fifth of the British navy.

There are at the present time 900 cotton mills in the United States with nearly 40,000 looms, which produce 250,000,000 yards of manufactured cottons in a year.

It is said that the elegant fashion of sedan-chairs is going to be revived at Paris, particularly in the Faubourg St. Germain.

**EXPENSE OF THE EXPEDITION TO CHINA.**—A parliamentary return, just published, shows that the sums paid, or to be paid, on account of the war with China, amount to £2,879,873, of which sum £804,948 are required to be voted in 1843-4, as balance due to the East India company.

The expectation of a large importation of foreign corn during the approaching autumn is becoming more general. The foreign exchanges gave way to some extent on Tuesday and again to-day, in consequence of the demand for bills to enable the agents of cornspeculators abroad to conduct their operations.

**FRAUDS IN THE CUSTOMS.**—The report of the commissioners of public revenue on the frauds in the customs—which, from their long existence and extensive amount, inflicted very heavy losses on the country—has at length appeared. It establishes the facts—that a skilfully organised system of fraud had been, for a considerable time, in vigorous operation in this department of the public service—that officers, in whom the most unlimited confidence was placed by the board, had been the agents in carrying it into effect—that certain commercial houses had bribed these officers to their purposes—and that this nefarious system had escaped detection by the criminal negligence of functionaries to whom no greater extent of criminality can be ascribed than that they were negligent. The following classification of the several modes in which the frauds were perpetrated, will show the ingenuity of the confederates:—

"1. The granting of false certificates by the export officers whose duty it is to ascertain what goods are shipped.

"2. By granting a false certificate of the quality, or of the existence of goods for exportation, to obtain an amount of drawback of duty far exceeding what is legally due, or a drawback for an imaginary exportation of articles.

"3. The *dummy* system, or the substitution of a package of low-duty goods for a package of high-duty goods. Passing cigars, for instance, under the denomination of marble.

"4. By the negligent or wilful under-valuation of goods where they are subjected to *ad valorem* duties, and the dishonest or careless and faulty enumeration of the goods when their amount is to be stated.

"5. By the improper computation of the tares of packages.

"6. An under-valuation and under-account of goods, so that an under-duty is paid by means of making a proper entry into the rough books on examining the goods, and obliterating that entry so soon as they were safe in the warehouse of the importer, substituting, in place of the proper entry, a false and insufficient entry of the goods, denoting a low duty which was paid, instead of the proper duty to the Crown.

"7. The fraudulent entries of goods by the substitution of fresh leaves for the original leaves in the landing-waiter's 'Blue books,' with imitations of the hand-writing of the registrar's clerks, with false entries and with false seals.

"8. The obliteration of the entry in the 'Blue book' by a chemical process, and the substitution of a false for the real account in it."

The system thus exploded has been in active operation several years. It was confined to those departments of the customs branch of revenue, the high duties in which afforded the temptation to dishonesty by the large amount of gain which would be secured by success. Not less than twenty-one landing-waiters were implicated by the disclosures made by Mr Burney, whose troubled conscience sought relief from its load in a partial development of the transactions in which he was a principal delinquent. A Mr Homersham, a first class landing waiter, with a salary of 400*l.* a year, was induced to tell all he knew. Mr Homersham is since deceased. Remorse and shame, which attended and followed the discoveries he was compelled to make of his own delinquency, produced rapid decay of his physical powers, and he became the tenant of a premature grave. The style of living which many of the subordinates in government offices indulge, the expenses into which they are led, and the embarrassments in which they, in consequence, become involved, expose them to temptations to dishonesty, against which their principles—gradually undermined by the expedients to which they have recourse to avoid exposure of their embarrassments—are not proof.—*Abridged from the Globe*.

### Postscript.

Wednesday, August 2nd, 1843.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr RUSHBROOK last night moved the issue of a new writ for Sudbury, which was met by an amendment, that leave should be given to bring in a bill for an effectual inquiry on the spot into the practices alleged to exist there. The amendment was carried by 138 to 25.

Lord JOHN MANNERS then brought forward this motion—"That it is inexpedient, in the present

condition of the country, to continue the existing restrictions on the exercise of private charity and munificence."

He prefaced it with a speech of considerable fairness, but was censured by Sir James Graham for introducing the subject at so late a period of the session. A discussion, in which Mr C. BULLER, Sir R. INGLIS, Mr BERNAL, Mr BORTHWICK, &c., took part, ensued, and eventually the motion was withdrawn.

**THE IRISH CHURCH.**—Mr Ward next brought on his motion:—

"That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, representing to her Majesty that, in the opinion of this House, it is not by measures for the repression of local violence that the discontents of Ireland can be allayed, but by removing those grievances which have formed for many years the subject of recorded complaint and remonstrance between the two countries. That amongst the most prominent of these is the law by which the whole ecclesiastical property of Ireland is assigned to the clergy of a small section of the population; and that this House, deeply impressed with the belief that such a law is not conformable to reason, or to the practice of any Christian country, pledges itself, after providing for existing proprietary rights, and for the claims of her Majesty's protestant subjects, cordially to co-operate with her Majesty in effecting such a settlement of church property in Ireland, as will remove all just ground of complaint, and give satisfaction to the Irish people."

He supported it by a lucid and temperate speech, a summary of which the crowded state of our columns will prevent us giving this week. Mr Carew, after a short address, seconded the motion, and Lord Eliot undertook the task of reply, after which the debate was adjourned.

**CHINA AND INDIA.**—The overland mail has arrived and brings intelligence from Bombay to the 19th of June, and from China to the 16th of April. Sein is tranquil, and that most fertile district is now nearly pacified by the measures adopted by Sir Charles Napier, its present governor. He has made terms with most of the chiefs, and even Meer Shere Mahomed is stated to have offered to make his submission provided he could have his private property secured to him. The Governor-general had left Agra for Calcutta. He took his departure soon after the receipt of the London mail of April. There had been some fresh, through trifling, disturbances in Boondelkhund. Gwalior was in an uproar, the minister having been attacked, and expelled the city, by a revolutionary party. It was supposed the British government would interfere to restore order. Dost Mahomed was at Cabul, with Akbar Khan. He had assumed authority, and was punishing his enemies with some severity. In the Punjab all was quiet. Shere Sing had recovered from his illness. There had been a dreadful gale along the Coromandel coast, and in the Bay of Bengal, and several vessels had been lost. One, even more severe and disastrous, had occurred at the Mauritius. The news from China was without importance. Sir Henry Pottinger had been ill, and was recovering. Negotiations continued suspended while waiting the nomination of a commissioner to succeed the defunct Elepoo. Ke-ying, not yet arrived at Canton, was expected to be named to that post. The opium trade was as brisk as ever.

**SPAIN.**—The following telegraphic despatch has been received:—

"BAYONNE, JULY 29.

"On the 26th, Brigadier Ametller entered Saragossa with six battalions.

"A brigade, commanded by Brigadier-general Cotoner, left Madrid on the 26th for Galicia.

"Madrid was tranquil on the morning of the 27th. Two divisions marched on the 26th; the one for Andalusia, and the other for Estremadura.

"The Regent and Van Halen were, on the 21st, before Seville, bombarding that city. A suburb had been almost entirely destroyed."

A private letter states, that previous to his departure from Madrid, General Zurbano had an interview with Mr Aston, who, on being told by him that he would endeavour to join the Regent, recommended him to advise the latter to abdicate. It was reported in the best informed quarters of Paris, on Monday afternoon, that the bombardment of Seville by Espartero will not have retarded the momentary pacification of Spain. It was said that Zurbano had been furnished with a passport by the new military authorities at Madrid, in order that he seek Espartero, and demonstrate to him the utter inutilty of prolonging the struggle.

**FRANCE.**—The *Semaphore de Marseilles* of the 28th ultimo announces that, in the evening of the 25th, the maritime prefect was instructed by a telegraphic despatch to send out immediately all the vessels of war which had their provisions on board; and early in the morning of the 26th the Gemappe and Alger ships of the line, and the steamers Castor and Euphrates, put to sea, the ships and the Castor for Tunis, and the Euphrates for the islands of Hyeres. It was supposed that the government had received some important information from the regency of Tunis, and its last despatches from Constantinople had apprised it of the intention of the Ottoman government to make another attempt against that regency. Some even stated that the Turkish fleet was already before Tunis.

**SOUTH WALES.**—The *Times* correspondent states that the persons now out on bail, on a charge of being connected with the Rebecca riots, at Swansea, are on Wednesday to make a triumphant procession into the town in a coach and four, and that the whole of the surrounding country will join in the display. The men employed in the numerous copper works of the neighbourhood have all determined to strike on Wednesday. Should this take place, it is expected the colliers will follow.

### CORN MARKET. MARK LANE. THIS DAY.

A small supply of English wheat, with a moderate supply of foreign. No alteration in prices, but market very dull.



## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

To our correspondent at Bridgewater we reply that we still place our hope in complete suffrage, but that the vigorous agitation of sound principles of every kind will hasten the triumph of that cause, and will prepare the people for a right use of it.

"N. N." We thank him for his last communication. We believe that at an election it will be found that both parties will cordially unite.

"The yearly epistle of the Friends" is scarcely suited to our columns.

"J. H." is not likely to stimulate to exertion those whom he somewhat fiercely arraigns.

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## The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, AUG. 2, 1843.

### SUMMARY.

WE address ourselves with reviving spirits to the work of noting proceedings in parliament, forasmuch as this uninteresting and profitless part of our duty will soon be brought to a close. The grand debate of the week was held on Friday night, upon the motion of Lord John Russell, previously to going into a committee of supply, to consider the state of the nation. Long speeches, violent recrimination, solemn wrangling upon topics in which the country feels no interest, and almost utter oblivion of the wretchedness and ruin to which all classes have been reduced, constitute the most remarkable features of this discussion. It was opened by Lord John Russell in strains of jocularity, neither graceful in themselves, nor anywhere beseeching the gravity of the occasion. It was followed up by Sir Robert Peel in a tone of apologetic humbleness, which denotes his consciousness that power is slipping from his grasp. Lord Howick, Mr Hume, Lord Palmerston, Lord Stanley, and Mr Labouchere, each joined in the *mêlée* after his own most approved and peculiar fashion. Lord Howick, grave, sensible, and prosing—Mr Hume exhibiting throughout, until the close of his speech, the prevailing colour of whiggism, when, unconscious of his own inconsistency, he denounced the whigs equally with the tories—Lord Palmerston, throwing about him the light shafts of railery, which Lord Stanley picked up and hurled back with petulance and scorn. The only manly speech of the night was that of Mr B. Roche, whose description of the sentiments of Irish repealers is true in a wider sense than he intended it. "The whigs," he says, "have forfeited the respect of the Irish people, and the tories never possessed it."

Judged by their own speeches, there is not a pin to choose between either party. Every accusation preferred by whig against tory was retorted with equal force by tory against whig. Each proved the other to be made up of high-sounding pretence, from which reality was wholly wanting. Neither cared to plead "not guilty" to the indictment preferred against him, but answered by presenting a counter indictment against his opponent. All seemed to be imbued with a notion that the country is as deeply interested as themselves in placing or in retaining this or that set of men upon the heights of office. All committed the fearful mistake of identifying the House of Commons with the people of these realms. The two factions resembled hostile physicians debating with heat, in the presence of a dying patient, some curious and incidental theory of medicine, and spoke as though jangling words and party disputes possessed an efficacy to cure the national disease. It is an appropriate termination to the present parliamentary session—a session upon which may be inscribed the motto "Words, not deeds."

The Irish Arms bill has been reported; Mr Sharman Crawford's amendment having been superciliously disposed of, without showing to it the common courtesy of a ministerial reply. Several attempts were made to thrust into it some amendments, not one of which, however, was successful. On Monday evening Sir James Graham introduced into the house Lord Aberdeen's bantling, the Scotch Benefices bill. It was sadly worried by the opposition, and the second reading carried by a majority of only eighteen. Should that opposition be persisted in with as much earnestness and perseverance as were exhibited in the matter of the Irish Arms bill, the measure will scarcely get through the house in its present admired integrity. It is a matter, however, of minor importance. It is clear that it will win back no seceders, nor retain within the bosom of the church a single member previously disposed to leave it. We believe Lord

Aberdeen to be the only party who takes the smallest interest in its fate.

The election for Durham has terminated in the triumphant return of Mr Bright, by a majority of seventy-eight votes. His opponent polled considerably fewer, whilst he polled eighty-three more, votes than at the last election. Lord Londonderry, who is said to command between eighty and ninety votes, piqued by the refusal of Sir Robert Peel to appoint him ambassador to the court of St Petersburg, forbade the electors ordinarily under his control to tender their votes. Whether this decided or not the issue of the Durham election, it is quite clear that under the present representative system, the aristocracy possess a power equivalent to the nomination of members to parliament. We rejoice in Mr Bright's return. We see in the growing numbers who supported him evidence of the spread of those principles which he advocates; but we cannot but feel sensible that, so long as the electoral body remains what it is, the return to the house of Commons of honest and able men like Mr Bright, is far more dependent upon a fortuitous combination of circumstances, than upon the unbiased judgment of the majority of electors.

South Wales continues in a disturbed state, and the *Times*, which lately, when it suited the purposes of its party, cried out for severe coercive measures in Ireland, thus justifies insurrection in the principality:—

"We cannot deny that we have much sympathy with men who refuse to remain quiet under such careless or unprincipled mismanagement. It is well to say they should remonstrate. And so they should; and so it is probable they have done. We fully grant that resistance to the law is a crime, and might be treated as such. Outrage must be quelled wherever and however it exists. Yet, forced as we are by a sense of right and the constitution of things to stand by the law, we cannot be blind to the fact, that in this mixed world of ours *unconstitutional intimidation from below is often the only visible means of checking unconstitutional oppression from above*. Authorities who will not hear reason MUST HEAR MENACE—must be sensible of PLAIN PHYSICAL DANGER. Wrong neutralizes wrong; and honest men, though they will not countenance or be parties to the one or the other, cannot avoid observing in these irregular movements the efforts of an imperfect state of society to adjust itself—efforts, if you please, themselves imperfect, abstractedly, blameable; nay, to repeat our own former words, 'unendurable' in any country professing to be governed by fixed laws; but still ANSWERING THE PURPOSE—in a more important case we should say their providential purpose—OF REMOVING THE EVILS AGAINST WHICH THEY ARE LEVELLED."

Other domestic matters we must touch upon but lightly. The iron trade has now reached a point of depression, both in Staffordshire and in Scotland, from which the most fearful consequences may be anticipated. Numbers of furnaces will be forthwith blown out, and thousands of industrious and honest, but rude and semi-ferocious miners, will be let loose upon society without employment and, consequently, without food. Irish repeal demonstrations, on a larger scale than ever, continue to come off, and to enlist even the sympathies of the military appointed to watch them. Mr Cobden persists in carrying free trade principles into the heart of agricultural districts, and has gained signal triumphs during the past week both at Hereford and, *mirabile dictu*, Chelmsford.

The telegraphic despatch anticipatory of the overland mail from India and China arrived on Monday, but the news announced by it is of no importance. The substance of it will probably be found in our postscript.

Madrid has capitulated to Narvaez. The Lopez ministry has been re-constituted. The designs of France have, for the present, succeeded, and we suppose the Duke D'Aumale will eventually be forced as a husband upon the Queen of Spain, and a ruler over the Spanish people.

### THE OLD AGE OF FEUDALISM.

To the eye of a calm spectator of public affairs the approaching break up of the conservative administration is clearly discernible. The event, in ordinary times, would be a matter of small importance to the people, for their interests have been little, and that only incidentally, improved by the transference of power from one section of the aristocracy to another. But there are some features of the present case which have a kindly look towards the country at large. Sir Robert Peel in office, supported by a packed and powerful majority in parliament, is the last card which monopoly can play. If that does not win the game, it is irretrievably lost. Discomfiture in this instance must be final. This last daring attempt to rule the nation in opposition to public opinion—to overbear the popular will, unequivocally expressed, in the three kingdoms—to pluck up primary constitutional principles by the roots—to turn back the current of national feeling by seizing upon, and letting down, official flood-gates—will exhaust the resources of modern toryism. It cannot be repeated. It is the death-throe of a party, and the fall of the Peel government will decide the fate of conservatism for ever.

Such being the case, it is not to be expected that monopoly will yield its vantage ground without further strenuous effort to maintain it. The struggle, the issue of which is no longer problema-

tical, will, most likely, be prolonged to the very utmost, but in vain. One-third of the empire practically without a government—South Wales disturbed by organised lawlessness—the mining population, both in Scotland and in England, on the very eve of being turned adrift, in myriads, upon society, to prey upon its now scanty resources, and to threaten its peace—disordered finances, failing trade, agricultural distress out-lying even that of the manufacturing districts—these, the direct results of aristocratic misgovernment, betoken also its not distant overthrow, constitute its appropriate punishment, and will eventually work out its cure. But there is something yet more ominous than these. The present administration is fast losing its control even over the House of Commons. Its sway, even in that stronghold of faction, is sensibly slipping from the actual into the nominal. Public measures presented, opposed, persisted in, and then formally withdrawn, or tamely suffered to drop—debates adjourned night after night regardless of the Premier's will or convenience—ministerial vaunts exchanged for ministerial laments, and large promises having to make way for humiliating confessions—men starting from the ranks of party and chiding their chosen leader for not knowing his own mind—and that leader himself cowering before his difficulties, and, in the tones of a man whose spirit is broken, pleading in his defence the most frivolous and inconsistent excuses—how impossible is it that a long continuance of conservative power can be fashioned out of elements such as these! There is even a worse feature in the case—a darker cloud hovering over aristocratic prospects, than any hitherto brought under notice. In Ireland a feeling of sympathy with the people is creeping into the army. There it will nestle itself, spite of all attempts to dislodge or to stifle it. And sympathy is proverbially contagious, more especially so amongst organised bodies of men. How far the thing will spread is yet a matter for conjecture only—but when once our soldiery shall become conscious that they too are men, and that God has given them hearts to beat in unison with those of citizens, the game of aristocracy will have been played out.

It is a singular, and to our minds, an encouraging trait of modern political history, that the whig party gains no strength from the depression of their opponents. The fall of one scale is not accompanied with a corresponding rise of the other. The bulk of the people view with profound indifference the probabilities of a change in the administration. They have been deluded too often to mistake once more the professions of an opposition leader, for the real policy of a cabinet minister. The late palpable biddings for office they view with disgust. So far from awakening confidence, or making a single chord of popular enthusiasm to vibrate in response, they only reveal more distinctly the inherent meanness of faction. In the sudden liveliness of the parliamentary minority—a liveliness inspired by its glimpses of office—the country at large in no measure partakes. Lord John Russell's finality is not neutralised by his declarations for a fixed duty and for a co-establishment in Ireland of Romanism with Protestantism. No one cares to exchange the imbecile foreign policy of Lord Aberdeen for the evermore intermeddling of Viscount Palmerston. Prospect of office may raise the spirits of Mr Ward, and such as he, but the people are not thereby sensibly elated. The impression is now thoroughly burnt into the public mind, that it is not by small legislative potterings, that this nation is to be saved from ruin. The deeds of the whigs are yet green in the recollection of the people. The very constituencies, leavened as they are with the aristocratic spirit, have hitherto held out no flag of amity to the party who first called them into being, and then left them a prey to corruption and intimidation. It is not forgotten, nor is it likely to be, that under whig rule the germs of all those principles of misgovernment which now threaten every class with protracted misery or sudden bankruptcy, were quickened and nursed into strength—that bribery grew to its present shamelessness—that the national expenditure swelled into extravagance—that a war spirit was gendered and inflamed—that the public heart was familiarised, even to loathing, with pledges disregarded, promises unfulfilled, shows of liberality when weakness rendered their realization impossible, despotism and insolence when official power was at its height. No! No! However the whigs may chuckle at the failure of Sir Robert Peel, it does not follow that his fall will insure their success. They may take office—doubtless they will—but if public confidence be requisite to a permanent occupation of it, their defeat will be as certain and as ignominious as was his.

To our apprehension, there is nothing more marked than the profound ignorance both of their own position, and of the settled judgment of the country, displayed by both political parties in the House of Commons. They seem to be utterly unaware of those characteristics of public opinion, which all men but themselves can read in letters of flame. Whilst the heart of this great nation is heaving and throbbing to throw off the dreadful



oppression of government by factions—whilst the mind of the people is making acquaintance with primary and eternal principles of political truth—whilst their hopes and fears, their expectations and disappointments, their strongest desires and fondest affections are revolving in ever-lessening cycles around the great central axiom, that God has created all men equal, and that governments are from the people and should be for them—our legislators, whig, tory, and radical, are engaged in earnest debate about the merest incidents of party warfare—selecting topics for declamation in which society feels no interest—urging, on both sides, arguments which popular opinion does not value at a straw—bandying to and fro recriminations which serve but to prove the hollowness of both factions, and by common consent suppressing the remotest allusion to those subjects which alone have power to kindle enthusiasm in the bosom of the masses. It is not merely that our senators do not represent the people—they do not understand them. They never mingled with them—never shared with them their woes—never walked with them in the path of unrequited toil—never watched the secret yearnings of their nature. Their impressions of public feeling are gained at west-end clubs—and they talk of the confidence with which the country honours them, with that evident faith in their own asseverations which indicates that ignorance is their highest bliss, and that one glance at the real truth would upset all their self-complacent tranquillity, and make them stand aghast at the awful perils which now encompass their position.

Affairs, however, wear a propitious aspect towards the people. It is becoming pretty evident that government for the few will ere long be impracticable. Tory and whig may have another change about. But neither will be able to stay for long the breaking up of the aristocratic system. That is certain, be the reins of government in what hands soever they may. Feudalism totters with age. Its dimmed eye, its palsied arm, its tottering gait its petulance of temper, its imbecility of mind show, too plainly to be mistaken, that the hour of its dissolution draws nigh.

#### THE DURHAM ELECTION.

WITH unfeigned satisfaction, shared, we believe, by the majority of our fellow-countrymen, we heard of John Bright's return to parliament, for the city of Durham. The victory is a proud one for both the electors and the elected. In a cathedral town, swarming with clergy, where tradesmen are under more than ordinary temptations to bow in deference to the dictates of authority, and where the minions of ecclesiasticism carry with them, into every corner of society, an influence frightfully detrimental to public virtue, the polling of four hundred and eighty-eight votes in favour of a free trader, a complete suffragist, and a dissenter, is an achievement which speaks well for the constituency of Durham. Whatever may be Mr Bright's main political object—and most men have a special eye to some one question above all others—it cannot be lost sight of that, at the last election, now four months since, the then unsuccessful candidate avowed his adherence to other principles than those of free trade merely. And although, in the first excitement and flush of victory, this seems to have been forgotten by the member for Durham, who ascribes his return exclusively to his anti-corn-law principles, it was possibly borne in mind by some of his most strenuous supporters, who, having satisfied themselves at the last election on this point, and confiding in the virtue and sincerity of John Bright, felt it unnecessary to thrust their principles into the face of a candidate known to entertain them.

Slipping in thus much on behalf of complete suffrage, which, in all courtesy and good neighbourhood, ought not to have stood by without even a distant nod of recognition, we are free to admit, and to rejoice in the admission, that the League have gained a very cheering triumph. After deducting all that can be said in depreciation of it, it remains a splendid trophy of earnest patriotism. The principles held by Mr Bright would of themselves have secured, in any considerable borough, a very respectable proportion of votes. But it was the evident earnestness of the candidate, his truthfulness, his zeal, and the high order of his talents, which, conjoined with those principles, won for him a majority. Of late years, electors have had to deal chiefly with hollow semblances, distinguished from each other only by the colours they might adopt, or by the patrons whose interests they were known to represent. To see amongst them, therefore, a real man—an individual, independent man—a man whose heart was warm in the cause he professed, and whose tongue was eloquent to plead its righteous claims—the very novelty of the thing, and we may add, the natural air of it, elicited feeling, attracted confidence, kindled enthusiasm, and struck corruption dumb.

And now, one word of intreaty. John Bright is not merely member for a Durham constituency, but his is now the responsibility of virtually representing the unenfranchised millions. Such, at all

events, is the theory of our present system of legislation. The member for Durham will be one of the very few instruments selected to give expression to the will of the people. That he will labour to give them the bread of their own industry, undiminished by landowning rapacity, we do not doubt. But oh! let him remember that there are some things which the heart of man craves even more than fulness of bread. Those hundreds, or rather thousands, of honest but hard-faring non-electors, who helped to swell the acclamations which were paid him, and would fain, but could not, have helped to swell the sum of his majority—is there not something which those men need equally with cheap bread and a fair day's wages? If they gave no vocal utterance to their wants in the hearing of John Bright, nor complained of the despotism which, for all electoral purposes, tied their hands and cut out their tongues, was it possible for the friend of man, as man, to see these men display their zeal before the hustings, and afterwards excluded from recording it at the poll, to imagine that on all questions but that of commercial reform, the people of Durham are indifferent? What man amongst them, when he cheered the sentiments which fell from the lips of the anti-corn-law advocate, did not feel the injustice of being denied a vote? Which of the thousands who shouted gladness in response to the honourable member's eloquent appeals, did not feel the degradation of being permitted, by the laws of his country, to shout only, whilst his privileged neighbours on the hustings could vote as well as shout? These men want restoring to self-respect, by being elevated above the position of political outcasts. John Bright is now, whether he will or no, the representative of these honest but unenfranchised workmen. We intreat him never to forget the humiliation and deep regret which they must have felt when precluded from recording their suffrages in his favour; and, whilst he slackens not in his desire to give them bread, let him not think it an inferior duty to attempt their restoration to the rights of manhood and to the dignity of citizenship!

#### MR HUME AND NATIONAL EDUCATION.

As a man of dogged honesty and untiring perseverance in his endeavours to diminish national expenditure, Mr Hume is abundantly entitled to the thanks of his fellow-countrymen. Like a sturdy tree, fast rooted in the banks of our muddy, overflowing stream of legislation which is ever changing its course, forming for itself new channels, and sweeping away fresh tracts of the fruitful country through which it flows—he stoutly stands, with rugged trunk and gnarled branches, half immersed in the flood, doing his best to stop the drifting riches that are fast hurrying by, borne on the eddy current towards the wide gulf of aristocratic extravagance; and, in spite of the lashing waves, the showers of spray, and the loud roar of the angry waters, firmly perseveres, until at length, thrust onward by an overwhelming force, each mass of valuable, hard-earned produce is carried by; whilst he, with unwearied vigour, returns to his former position to be ready for another struggle. But, at the same time that we cheerfully award to Mr Hume a full measure of praise, for the zealous pertinacity with which he has endeavoured to save the national property, we cannot in a similar manner commend his schemes of legislation. He is more at home in details than in great principles. His mind is better fitted for the superintendence of the every-day movements of state machinery, than for the invention of new social mechanisms. And, like nearly all the rest of our rulers, when he comes to deal with questions of political philosophy, for the proper comprehension of which, a thorough knowledge of the laws of the social organism is necessary, he gets beyond his depth.

Several of the sentiments contained in the speech with which Mr Hume introduced his late motion on the subject of education, will, we believe, fully bear out this opinion. He asserts, in common with the other partisans of the same political school, "that it is the duty of the state to educate the people!" There is no attempt made to prove this. It is enunciated as a self-evident, axiomatic truth, upon which theorems may be built with certainty of success. Nevertheless, we must make bold to dissent from this oft-repeated proposition. We have never seen it upheld by anything like satisfactory arguments. We believe it to be a mere dogma of party, which has obtained acknowledgment only by sheer dint of reiteration, and one that is founded upon a totally erroneous understanding of social relationships. Most of the reasons upon which this opinion is based have been already laid before our readers. Upon the present occasion, however, one or two additional ones may be advantageously set forth.

It is a common observation, that love of offspring is one of the most powerful passions of our nature. To become a parent is an almost universal wish. The intensity of affection exhibited in the glistening eye, the warm kiss, and the fondling caress—in the untiring patience, the wakeful care, and the ever ready alarm, of the mother, is a theme on which philosophers have written, and poets have sung in all ages. The more indirect

manifestations of parental emotion are equally matters of frequent remark. Observe the self-gratulation with which maternity witnesses the unparalleled achievements of her children. Mark the pride with which the performances of each little brat are exhibited to every visitor as the productions of a most precocious genius. See likewise, in later days, the deep interest which the father feels in the moral and intellectual welfare of his sons, and the anxiety he manifests respecting their prosperous settlement in life, the promptings of his natural affection being oftentimes sharpened by the reflection that the comforts of his old age may, perchance, be dependent upon their success.

Now, for ourselves, we must confess that we have been in the habit of looking upon these feelings as of some use. Hitherto we have always thought that the gratification accruing to the mother from the forwardness of her little ones was intended as a stimulus to the proper culture of their understandings—that the honour which the father feels reflected back upon himself by the distinction of his sons was meant as an incentive to their mental improvement—and that the anticipation of the distresses which parents might expect to fall upon themselves in their declining years, if the training of their offspring were neglected, was an additional spur to their proper management. We imagined we saw in these various arrangements, these strong affections and mutual dependencies, a beautifully constructed mechanism for the mental and physical development of every human being—an exquisitely contrived chain of influences, designed to elevate each generation to as great or a greater height than its predecessors; and, in the simplicity of our faith, we had concluded that these divinely appointed means were fully competent to secure such end.

But it would appear, from the confidently asserted doctrine of the state educationists, that we have been most egregiously mistaken. They have discovered that this spiritual apparatus is wholly insufficient to work out the desideratum—that the moral faculties we have alluded to were not provided for such a purpose, or, what is the same thing, that they have no purpose at all—and that the Creator's scheme for the securing of the moral and intellectual growth of humanity, is a "mere theory," unworthy the attention of "practical statesmen"—a "pure abstraction," pretty, but not profitable—an air-built castle, which dissolves away before the gaze of reason. And so, in default of any created provision for supplying the exigency, these legislators exhibit to us the design and specification of a state machine, made up of masters, ushers, inspectors, directors, superintendents, and councils, to be worked by a due proportion of taxes, and to be plentifully supplied with raw material, in the shape of little boys and girls, out of which it is to grind a population of well-trained men and women, who shall be "useful members of the community." And this is the philosophy of our law-makers!

"Aye," exclaim our opponents, "your burlesque might be all very appropriate, were it not for an unfortunate omission in your premises; you forget that the people cannot afford to educate their children. If the labouring classes were in easy circumstances—if they could earn more than was necessary for the satisfaction of their physical wants, and were thus enabled to obey the impulses of their affections, your doctrine might answer; but, as it is, their poverty opposes an insurmountable barrier to its application, and hence the theory is evidently impracticable." And then they look us in the face with a triumphant smile, which being interpreted, means "Now you are fast." Certainly the objection has a very formidable outside, but we are not in the least alarmed at it, for it is a pure phantasm—empty and without substance. We beg to ask those who, with such self-satisfaction, would annihilate us by this argument, Why are the people poor? Why are they constrained to spend all their funds in the purchase of food and clothing? Why are they without the means of educating their offspring? Did the Almighty so constitute the world, as that the produce of the wearying toils of industry should be all swallowed up in providing for the necessities of the body? Was it his intent that there should be no surplus to secure to his creatures moral and intellectual good, and mental gratification? And are his arrangements so incomplete as to render it a matter of impossibility that each human mind should be developed by the natural influences that he has employed for the purpose? Few will have the hardihood to assert as much. The parties with whom we are arguing believe, in common with ourselves, that the state of things here indicated is a consequence of class selfishness—of aristocratic supremacy—of tyrannical legislation—and that, if these vicious influences were removed, and society thereby restored to its normal health, no such difficulties would exist. We submit, therefore, that if the natural mechanism of education has been rendered inactive, by an artificial obstacle growing out of human wickedness, such circumstance affords no ground for the inference that we ought to set up a national apparatus for supplying its place, but only adds a still further incentive to the removal



of those abominations from which this and all the rest of our national evils have proceeded. And if, in the plenitude of their anxiety for the popular welfare, our rulers would do away with the corruptions and abuses of a venal government—remove the bonds, the barriers, and the restrictions with which they have hedged about the people, and restore to them those rights and privileges of which they have been deprived—if they would only do this, we believe they would stand wholly acquitted of any neglect of duty, were they to leave the people to educate themselves.

If, after the rectification of social abuses—the re-endowment of the unenfranchised with their natural privileges, and the removal of all obstacles to popular prosperity—it shall be found that the people are still prevented by poverty from educating their children, it will then be time enough to consider the propriety of government interference. Meanwhile, we shall assume that those innate principles of humanity, which have been pointed out as the natural instruments—the moral agencies which the Almighty has provided for the mental development of each successive generation, are far better fitted for the fulfilment of the specified purpose, than any cumbrous, complex system, which can be contrived by fallible men; and we will never be guilty of such disrespect to the Omnipotent, as to suppose that an apparatus of invisible influences, which he has created to compass a particular end, will be rendered inefficient by the intervention of unforeseen physical circumstances.

### General News.

#### FOREIGN.

##### AMERICA.

The Hibernia steam ship, of the royal mail packet line from Boston and Halifax, reached Liverpool at six o'clock on Thursday evening, after a passage of only nine days from Halifax, we believe, the shortest passage ever made across the Atlantic. She brings 68 passengers, with New York and Boston papers of the 15th July, and Halifax papers of the 18th. The latter contain letters from two captains of ships who narrowly escaped shipwreck at the entrance of the Bay of Fundy on the same day as the Columbia went ashore; they both state that they found themselves sixty miles further north than their reckoning, owing to the extraordinary current into the Bay of Fundy; and from these and other similar testimonies it is thought that what is called "a freak of nature" had occurred, in a most extraordinary current into the bay at that time, so as to deceive the most experienced seamen. There was no hope of the Columbia being saved; but all the passengers and crew were preserved, the single seaman who was missing having turned up.

There is no political news of importance. The New York papers are discussing a projected convention of the state, for the purpose of amending the constitution, which is now no less than twenty years old, and therefore, according to American notions, rather antiquated.

Great excitement had been produced in New York by a report presented to the board of education from the trustees of some of the schools assisted by public money, recommending that the school books should be so altered as not to offend the scruples either of Roman Catholics, Jews, or infidels. To effect this object it was suggested that the New Testament, the Scripture lessons, Murray's reader, and several other books, should be discontinued! The report was warmly denounced at the board of education, and also by the press, as the result of a combination of opposite sects and infidels against protestantism and the Scriptures.

An inquiry was going on at New York into the alleged insanity of Catharine Cochrane, alias Gilmore, alleged to have murdered her husband in Scotland. Several medical men had given evidence before commissioner Rapelje, and they were all of opinion that the woman was feigning insanity. The inquiry, however, was not concluded.

The excitement in favour of repeal appears to have rapidly subsided, in consequence of an anti-slavery speech of Mr O'Connell's. The *Chronicle's* correspondent says—

"Mr O'Connell's anti-American slavery speech has produced a singular effect at Charleston, South Carolina. Immediately on its publication in that city, the Repeal association held a special meeting, at which several 'indignation speeches' were pronounced against Mr O'Connell, and then the association dissolved finally, distributing its funds to two catholic charitable societies. In Richmond, Virginia, the whole press, and particularly the *Daily Whig*, are strong in their denunciations. The *Whig* says—'O'Connell, in threatening to follow up Irish repeal with the abolition of slavery here, would be justified in his course by the agitation of repeal in this country. If we have a right to interfere with the domestic policy of Great Britain, she has a right to return the compliment, and interfere with our internal concerns. There is no escape from this conclusion.' So in Savannah, Louisville, Mobile, New Orleans, &c."

The same authority gives some information on minor topics of interest.

"There were about twenty men killed in suppressing the recent riots on the Beauharnois canal, in Canada, and fears are entertained that there will yet be other strikes for wages, and outbreaks. The *Montreal Herald* will have it that the French Canadians are organising another rebellion, and that they are organising secret societies, troops, &c.; but I observe that other papers, quite as respectable as the *Herald*, consider the whole matter as an invention intended for the political market.

"In the national convention at Cincinnati, for the

purpose of taking steps to secure the possession of the Oregon territory to the United States, there were 120 delegates, but only four states and one territory were represented, to wit:—Ohio, Indiana, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Iowa. One of the reports adopted, sustained President Monroe's view—that this continent is not open to colonisation by European governments. It was urged upon the government, to take immediate steps 'to settle our north-western boundary with Great Britain;' and Mr Flinn reported, and his report was adopted, to the effect that 'the United States government should make donations of land in the Oregon territory to settlers in that territory.' Several speakers seemed to think that Great Britain would make no serious opposition to the United States' claim; but the official proceedings will not be published for several days. It is not possible, therefore, to give as full an account as I could desire of this important movement. Two features, however, are clear—one, that the delegates were all from the western states—the other, that the demonstration was not as extensive as had been anticipated.

"The Canada corn law went into operation last week. What is going to be the effect of this measure is a matter about which there are various opinions. Most of the papers anticipate a considerable diversion of the wheat and flour trade from our canals to the St Lawrence route. Others say confidently that no wheat or flour will go to Canada this season. A few weeks will determine what course the trade will take.

The papers state that Mr Nicholas Biddle, the well-known financier, has become insane.

The papers give the most flattering reports of the forthcoming wheat crop from all parts of the country, except central and lower Illinois. It is probable, says a New York paper, that the crop will be greater than that of any preceding year.

General Houston, of Texas, has published a proclamation, announcing a cessation of hostilities with Mexico; and Santa Anna has also published a similar document—peace, and probably the independence of Texas to be acknowledged by Mexico; the whole having been brought about, it is said, by the British Minister in Mexico, and the British chargé d'affaires in Texas. It is presumed that, either gradually or immediately, slavery will be abolished in Texas. The negotiations are to be conducted through the British minister and chargé, as mediators.

##### FRANCE.

Queen Christina held a grand levy in the Hotel de Courcelles, on Monday, on the occasion of her birthday. The King, Queen, the Duke d'Aumale, the Duke and Duchess of Nemours, and Madame Adelaide, successively visited the ex-Regent, and M. Guizot and Marshal Soult presented their homage to her Majesty. "The Duke d'Aumale," observes the *Commerce*, "was most gracious to all the Spaniards present in the salon of the mother of Isabel II., and even spoke to them in their native language."

The Belle Poule, with Prince de Joinville and his Brazilian bride on board, arrived at Brest on Saturday; a previous report to that effect having been false. The vessel had been detained by contrary winds.

The session of the chambers closed on Monday, when the royal decree of prorogation was read. Several of the ministers and about one hundred of the deputies were present. They were not expected to re-assemble until the 9th of January.

The appointment of Vice-admiral de Mackaw, as minister of marine and colonies, in the room of Admiral Baron Roussin, was notified in the *Moniteur* of Tuesday.

The Paris correspondent of the *Times* states "that during the entire week, just closed, there have been innumerable conferences at the hotel de Courcelles (the Paris residence of the ex-Queen Regent of Spain), at which assisted the whole of her Majesty's council, the Austrian ambassador, the Prussian minister, the chargé d'affaires of Russia, and (at several of them) M. Guizot, who came in from Auteuil express for the purpose. The result has not transpired, but I think I may venture to repeat that the northern courts, at least, are determined to oppose a marriage of the Queen of Spain or of her sister with a French prince."

The *Toulonnais* of the 27th ult. announces that, in consequence of despatches received by telegraph, the ships of war, *Jemappes* and *Alger*, received orders to sail instantly from Toulon for Tunis, and that they got under weigh for their destination on the afternoon of that day.

The *fêtes* of July had passed over with great quietness and tameness. No demonstrations of a political character were made, as is usually the case, except on the part of a few republican students, who were put down by the police.

A new journal (says the *Chronicle*) appeared on Saturday for the first time; it is called the *Reform*. As its title indicates, its principles are democratic, and it proclaims, as its motto, the sovereignty of the people. It will endeavour, it says, to rally all those of progressive opinions to obtain, in the first place, electoral reform, and thereafter, universal suffrage. This journal will be a sturdy opponent of the French ideas of government, for the first number publishes a list of 500 original shareholders, almost all of whom are landed proprietors, lawyers, literary men, and members of the chamber of deputies, and among whom are the names of MM. Joly, Portalis, Arago, Cremieux, Ledru Rolin, and Audry de Puyraveau. We shall see how the ministerial journals will welcome this new organ of public opinion. Hitherto they have invoked, in favour of the French-Christino insurrection, the principles of the *Journal des Debats* and the *Presse*, which have for twelve years opposed the movement party in France.

##### SPAIN.

Up to the 21st inst, the strange contest which has distracted Spain for some weeks past, seemed not

unlikely to issue in the triumph of Espartero. The members of his cabinet (particularly Signor Mendizabal), with the military and municipal authorities, had induced the inhabitants of the capital to assume so resolute an appearance that General Narvaez had decreed it prudent to draw off his troops to some distance from the city. But on the 22nd inst, the forces under Generals Seoane and Zurbano came up with the late besiegers of Madrid; a conflict ensued, which lasted a quarter of an hour, and was closed by the army of Espartero's generals fraternising with their opponents. Zurbano fled and took refuge in Madrid, while his son and General Seoane were taken prisoners. Narvaez, at the head of the insurgent army, entered Madrid on Sunday evening.

The moment the news of this affair reached Madrid, an immense crowd collected at the Puerta del Sol. Discouragement became general among the National Militia. M. Mendizabal and his friends alone appeared undismayed and determined to weather the storm. They spoke of fortifying themselves in the royal palace, and converting it into a citadel. But the militia was little disposed to second that project; the next morning they surrendered the outer gates to the soldiers who remained in the city, and demanded that a deputation should be sent out to conclude a capitulation with Narvaez. On the 23rd a first conference was held, at which General Aspiroz guaranteed the safety of life and property, and the perfect freedom of opinion to all political parties. He left to the national guards their arms, banners, decorations, and organisation, to be modified at leisure by a junta formed by themselves, in "accordance with the law," as soon as a regular government was re-established. The constitution of 1837 is to be maintained inviolate, and a provisional government to be appointed immediately.

In consequence of these conciliatory measures, the reception of Aspiroz, who entered the city at the head of 5,000 men, was very flattering. On the 24th, however, things began to wear a different aspect. The first breach of the agreement was the re-appointment of the Lopez ministry, with a few variations as follows:—Narvaez, lieutenant-general, captain-general of Madrid, and general-in-chief of all the troops in the capital; Prim, count de Reuss and governor of Madrid; Quinto, political chief; the Duke de Baylen, commandant of the halberdiers; Aspiroz, lieutenant-general and general-in-chief of the first corps of operation; and Cortina, inspector-general of the national guards. Generals Serrano and Narvaez would not consent to the convention of General Aspiroz. Narvaez declared these conditions unacceptable, and insisted that the municipality should resign its functions, that the national militia should give up its arms, the barricades be removed, and the trenches filled up. Finally, after some further negotiation, the authorities were obliged to yield, and surrender at discretion; and the troops of Narvaez entered Madrid on the 24th. The breach of faith on the part of the victorious generals has, however, excited a strong feeling of indignation among the national guards, and complaints of insufficient pay already began to be heard among the troops of the line; 27,000 of whom were now concentrated on Madrid. A large number of Zurbano's officers, who went over to Narvaez, had retired in disgust from the capital, and that general himself has escaped in the guise of a muleteer to join Espartero in the south. Seoane still remained in custody, and was suffering much from illness. M. Arguelles, the Queen's guardian, had given in his resignation. Great efforts were made to arrest M. Mendizabal, the most efficient member of the late government, but it was said that he was concealed at the British legation. On the evening of the 24th the national guards were disarmed. The Madrid journals of the 25th are filled with decrees of various sorts from the new government. One of them, signed "Fermin Caballero," is addressed to the post-office authorities, ordering them to let pass freely all newspapers that may be sent for distribution. The same decree declares, in the most formal terms, that the freedom of the press was fully recognised, and that every Spaniard could publish his sentiments.

Another decree, issued by Serrano, dated the 24th, dismisses the Marquis de Rodil from his place as commander of the Halberdiers. An expeditionary column is immediately to be sent into Andalusia, under Major-general Massaredo, to reinforce General Concha. The remaining troops are to be formed into a *corps d'armée*, of which the generals, the organization, and all other particulars are to be regulated by General Narvaez. The Queen Dowager's birthday had been celebrated with every mark of respect. Salvoes of artillery had ushered in the day. The entry of the troops had concluded on the morning of the 25th. Brigadier Prim had specially been received with the loudest applause, particularly when he reached the Puerta del Sol. The troops defiled before the palace, in presence of the Queen. All the decrees are issued in the name of Isabella II. and the government of the nation. The journals of Madrid which had suspended their publication reappeared on the 24th. The *Patriota* and *Espectador* have ceased to appear. The state of Madrid may be judged of from the fact, that as many as eight soldiers are lodged upon the proprietor of a single floor. Zurbano's troops, who were still suspected of being favourable to the Regent, had been dispersed over the general body. The leading men of Espartero's party are all concealed, knowing that their lives would not be worth an hour's purchase if discovered. The following extracts from the *Times* correspondence convey probably a correct view of the condition and designs of the several parties:—

"Orders have been issued for the reinforcement of General Concha by the march of 20,000 men to Andalusia under the command of Marshal Massaredo, selected



from battalions most compromised against the Regent, with orders to pursue him and him alone, and if possible to shoot him. The most treacherous plans are laid to get rid of him. Troops are going from this to pass over to him, with the special mission to assassinate him as soon as they get him fairly within their reach! This I know from communications on the part of those actually preparing to take part in the mission, and they have become so debased (I must call it) by participating in successful treachery, that they have learned to think of it as a mere matter of course!"

"These appointments are believed to be only to serve a temporary purpose; and that, as soon as the absolute Christiano military party find the Regent and their more dangerous foes got rid of, they will have no scruple in sacrificing Lopez and his friends of the progresista school, who betrayed the Regent and the constitution to gratify their thirst of leadership. They are mere cats' paws, and as such we shall see them scooped at as soon as Maria Christina secures the chestnuts. The design is, as I am well assured, to call "France to the rescue," and give Louis Philippe a family claim to direct interference and tutelage; to lose no time, but to make the declaration of the Queen's majority serve a triple purpose:—1, to depose Espartero; 2, to legalise a provisional government of his enemies; and, 3, to serve as the first step to the ceremony of the betrothment of her Majesty with the Duc d'Aumale."

The last accounts received state that Espartero was on the 19th at Ecija, about half way between Cordova and Seville, and within two days' march of the latter place. The direction of his retreat seems to intimate that he was not proceeding towards Portugal, but to Cadiz. Van Halen was waiting for him at Alcala de Guadaira, a village on the Cadiz road within two leagues of Seville. Espartero is not obliged to pass through the capital of Andalusia in order to proceed to Cadiz. It lies two leagues to his right in an angle, which he cuts off by proceeding straight down from Ecija. Van Halen was in observation before Seville, to force the insurgents to remain there, and thus prevent them from disturbing Espartero's march. It is impossible to state with accuracy the number of troops with the Regent at present. The *Debats* (which cannot be suspected of any desire to exaggerate his chances of resistance) puts them down at 5,000, and makes those of Van Halen to be about 2,500. If, therefore, Espartero had intended to maintain himself in Cadiz, whether to prolong his resistance, or make conditions, he may find his hopes frustrated, and be obliged to surrender like Seoane, or escape in disguise like Zurbano.

Concha was continuing to follow Espartero, and endeavouring to neutralise the effect of his presence in Andalusia.

The municipality of Saragossa, on learning the entry of Narvaez into Madrid, sent a deputation to Brigadier Amettler, to announce to him that the city of Saragossa recognised the new government.

At Barcelona the Exaltado party, the opponents of the moderados, were again in the ascendant, and much anxiety was felt as to the course they would pursue with respect to the new state of things.

## PORTUGAL.

The Queen of Portugal was safely delivered of a Princess on the 22nd; both were doing well, and great rejoicings, with illuminations, had taken place at Lisbon in consequence. Espartero had not entered Portugal, and at Lisbon it was reported that he had proceeded from Madrid towards Seville, at the head of about 5,000 men, but it was not known if he intended to proceed to Cadiz. It is, however, said that the British commander had instructions to receive him on board should he make an application for protection; from which it would appear an opinion was entertained that his troops would be induced to join the insurgents, and that he would in such event endeavour to seek refuge under the British flag.

## FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

**ARRIVAL OF ONE OF THE PRISONERS FROM CABOOL.**—Amongst the passengers landed from the ship *Windsor*, which arrived on the 22nd instant from Calcutta, with a detachment of the 49th regiment, are Mrs Eyre and son, the wife of Lieutenant Vincent Eyre, of the Bengal Artillery, and late Commissary of Ordnance at Cabool, whose able narrative of the events which occurred there, and of the disasters which befell our ill-fated army, has made so much noise in the world. This is the first arrival in England of those ladies who displayed such heroic conduct under the unprecedented hardships, privations, and terrific scenes, which they witnessed during a siege and captivity which lasted for eleven months.

Advices from St. Domingo to the 1st of July, inform us that the island was perfectly quiet, and the public affairs harmoniously conducted by the provisional government.

The *Crane* packet, from Rio de Janeiro, has brought as passenger M. Ribiero, appointed secretary to the ambassador, charged with the negotiation of a new commercial treaty with this country.

The *Toulonnais* publishes the following letter from Mascara, July 5:—"Abd-el-Kader has again escaped the pursuit of our soldiers by an almost miraculous flight, thanks to the simplicity of his costume. The Spahis, who thought only of plunder, abandoned the principal personage to strip the Emir's physician, a Frenchman, who was richly dressed, and rode a horse splendidly caparisoned, and yet this person pointed with his finger to the Emir, who was only 10 paces off, tightening the girths of his horse. The day before yesterday the Emir in person was attacking tribes under the cannon of Mascara."

The *Augsburg Gazette* mentions a report that the King of the French is not opposed to the idea of

marrying the young Queen of Spain to an Italian Bourbon, and that negotiations on the subject have been opened with the court of Lucca.

The *Magdeburg Gazette* contains the following mysterious paragraph:—"The Bavarian government has taken measures to prevent the periodical press of that kingdom from publishing the important documents relating to the royal family of England, which are in the possession of Colonel M., son of the Duke of Sussex."

**MURDER AND EXPLOSION.**—Intelligence has been received of the blowing up of the *Diana*, South sea whaler, while on her return to England, and the death of Captain May, who commanded her. The vessel was on her homeward voyage; and, on the 5th of April, while near the island of Ascension, attempting to reach St. Helena, those on deck were alarmed by the report of fire-arms. They immediately rushed to the spot, and one of the party, having entered the cabin, discovered the corpse of their late commander lying on the floor, weltering in his blood. Upon a subsequent examination it was found he had been shot, and a pistol was found in one corner of the cabin between six and seven feet from the poor man's body. It is supposed that the captain was assassinated, and suspicion is attached to the second mate. The *Diana* since reached St. Helena in safety, where the authorities were informed of the circumstances, and the depositions of several of the crew were taken by the vice-consul. She was ordered to sail from St. Helena on Wednesday, the 26th of that month, and only a few hours previous to the time appointed for the starting, the powder magazine blew up, causing the almost total destruction of this fine vessel. The sufferers, one by one, were extricated from the shattered timbers of the vessel. The remains of the poor steward were discovered shockingly mutilated, and in the course of the day were conveyed on shore. The explosion had been caused by the wilful firing of the powder magazine. The coroner's jury returned a verdict of "Wilful murder against some person or persons unknown."

The *Gazette of Aix-la-Chapelle* states, that the diet of the Prussian provinces, sitting at Dusseldorf, had resolved, by a majority of 46 to 26, to address his Majesty to abrogate the laws interfering with the liberty of the press, and to introduce a law to abolish the existing censorship, a measure demanded by the necessities of the epoch.

**TURKEY.**—Private advices from Constantinople of the 12th inst. state, that the Sultan had invested Riza Pasha, the grand marshal of the palace, with the supreme control over the war and navy departments, or in other words with the lieutenant-general of the empire. Three camps were in progress of formation, and the vessels of the imperial navy were constantly employed in conveying troops to Adrianople, and the other places selected for the establishment of those camps.

## DOMESTIC.

## METROPOLITAN.

## GREAT ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETING.

A meeting of the members and friends of the National Anti-corn-law League was held on Saturday, at the Crown and Anchor tavern, Strand, for the purpose of congratulating the electors of the city of Durham on the recent victory they had so nobly achieved for the cause of free trade, by returning John Bright, Esq., as their representative to parliament. Long before the hour appointed for taking the chair, not only the largest room in the tavern was crowded, but many hundreds were assembled in another room, of almost equal dimensions, where they were addressed during the evening by many of the gentlemen who were the principal speakers in the more immediate meeting of the evening.

The Hon. C. P. VILLIERS, M.P., was called to the chair, and briefly addressed the meeting, congratulating them on the triumph that had lately been achieved for the free trade cause at the late Durham election.

Dr BOWRING then made a short speech, in the course of which he made the following clever hit:—

He confessed that some melancholy thoughts came over him when he contrasted the opinions out of doors, from which their friend had just come, with the opinions within doors of that House to which he had been sent. At that moment the old epigram passed through his mind, which perhaps some of them would recollect. When Dr Goodenough was called upon to preach before the House of Commons, a wit of those days said—

"'Tis well enough that Goodenough should to the Commons preach,

For sure enough they're bad enough for Goodenough to teach!"

[cheers and laughter]. And then it occurred to him to add another couplet, which seemed as appropriate as the former—

"Tis meet enough and fit enough the House should be enlightened,

For sure enough they're dull enough, and wanting to be Brightened [roars of laughter]!"

Mr BRIGHT was then introduced and received with enthusiastic cheering. He commenced by referring to the previous election at Durham, and then gave a short history of the means of agitation resorted to during the recent contest.

Neither he nor his friends sought to excite their feelings against Sir Robert Peel or in favour of Lord John Russell. They did not talk about majorities or minorities in parliament, or about what amount of patronage would accrue to him if he were returned their member, or anything else of a party and selfish description. No; what he and his friends talked to them about were matters concerning their own welfare. They told them that as men they had a common interest with themselves; they explained to them what was the nature of the corn law—who were the parties that passed it—for whose interest it was passed—and how it was maintained. They showed

to them that it was not for the tailors, the carpenters, the shoemakers, the shopkeepers of the city of Durham that that law was enacted [cheers]. They told the people of Durham that they were paying 3d. a pound more for their sugar than they had any right to do, which 3d. a pound went into the pockets of the West India planters. They told them, that whenever their wives made for them or their children a cup of coffee, there stood by them a hideous, but unseen monster, called monopoly, who drank another cup of coffee at their expense [hear, hear]. When they addressed the people of Durham, on every occasion, they had an excellent reporter at their elbow, who took down everything they said, and when the meeting was over, his reports were instantly committed to the press, and the next morning every elector and every inhabitant of Durham and its vicinity had a copy of all the speeches in his possession. During their canvass they entered scores and hundreds of houses, in which they found the husband or wife busily engaged in perusing these speeches, and making themselves acquainted with the subject [hear, hear]. To the many freemen and others whom we found either altogether out of employment, or working at very low wages, we explained how it was that the corn laws diminished the amount of labour and reduced its wages, at the same time that they increased the price of provisions [hear, hear]. We did not find any of those intelligent men disposed to believe the statement of the monopolists, that the reduction of the price of articles of food would reduce the wages of the working classes [hear]. They were not to be gulled by the absurd notion that the abolition of the corn laws could be injurious to them. The non-electors came forward manfully, they canvassed for the league candidate, but they did not intimidate [hear, hear]. No; not one single canvasser or voter in their interest unduly influenced one single shopkeeper in any way or degree whatever [hear, hear]; but they went to the freemen, and begged and prayed them in the name of all that was sacred and honest to vote for the free-trade candidate; a well-conceived address was drawn up to the electors of Durham, and signed in a very short space of time indeed, by between 3,000 and 4,000 of the inhabitants, entreating them to vote for the repeal candidate [hear, hear].

One cause of his success was the fact, that he did not go to Durham as a party man.

He was persuaded that if he had gone to the electors of Durham, merely as a whig, to ask them to support him against Mr Purvis, merely because he was a tory, Mr Purvis would at this moment be member for Durham [hear, hear]. He had an intense desire that the people of this country should know what they are, and who they are [hear, hear]—should ask themselves, and resolve this question, whether they or the aristocracy were the people [cheers]—whether the country was theirs, or was merely the estate of the aristocracy [loud cheers]—whether the aristocracy was to last longer in it than they? [hear, hear]. The leaders of the different parties seemed to consider the people as quite subsidiary to faction; they neither consulted their interests nor their feelings [hear, hear]; in the heart of the people at large there was no response whatever to the cry of party [hear, hear, hear]; but speak to them of trade, of their employments, their income, their expenditure, their sufferings, their wives, their children—of those subjects with which were connected their social happiness or misery—and you will find that every man and woman amongst them has a heart which will respond to what you say, and that they will come forward as one in support of a great principle [cheers].

He then in graphic and truthful terms described his impressions on taking his seat in the House of Commons, and hearing the party debate of Friday night.

What was his first night's experience there? A debate was going on, in which a great deal was said about the useless expenditure that had been made of the public time, yet as to the debate itself, if a man had dropped from the clouds on to the floor of the house, and had listened to what was said on one side and the other, he would not for one moment have suspected that there were twenty-seven millions of people outside the house whose prosperity, nay, the very existence of thousands of whom, depended on the deliberations of that assembly [hear, hear, hear]; for very little real reference did there seem to be to the people. Lord John Russell opened with a very good speech indeed, with excellent points in it, now and then telling jokes, and above all, a solemn warning to the government, who would not go out of office that he might come in ["hear, hear," and laughter]. Then Sir Robert Peel got up, and looked as though he was going to trounce Lord J. Russell in a very effectual manner, for he seemed terribly indignant; but it was all smoke [laughter]. He certainly did what man could do to defend the present government, but it would have exceeded the powers of an angel to explain to the house or to the country, how it was that, with a majority in the House of Commons of more than a hundred, with nearly all the House of Lords at its back, with a starving people before them, with decaying trade, with insurrection threatening them more or less near, in Ireland, in Wales, in the north of England, with disease eating into the very heart's core of the empire, that, under all these circumstances, this long session should well nigh have passed over and the government not be able to point to one single measure which could in the slightest degree ameliorate the condition of the people [loud cheers]. By and by Lord Palmerston got up, and made a very clever speech, which would have done admirably well if there had been no country, no people in the question. It would have been an excellent speech for a debating club, with shrewd hits and sharp cuts at the ministry, and a vast deal about Afghanistan and Scinde, and the condition of Spain question; about everything, in short, except the condition of England question [hear, hear]. Then Lord Stanley could sit still no longer, and he made a speech apologetical for the government's having done so little, and so it went on. The result of the whole, as far as the people are concerned, being to show, that the one party is not much better than the other, that there is a strong family likeness between them, neither being earnestly wishful to do that which the country needs and requires at their hands. There was, therefore, an indispensable necessity that the country should exhibit a strong, a stern, an uncompromising determination to have justice done, and to promote the great object themselves, by every constitutional means in their way, so as to bring the two factions who had hitherto, for their own interests, made a victim of the country, effectually to their senses [hear, hear].



of those abominations from which this and all the rest of our national evils have proceeded. And if, in the plenitude of their anxiety for the popular welfare, our rulers would do away with the corruptions and abuses of a venal government—remove the bonds, the barriers, and the restrictions with which they have hedged about the people, and restore to them those rights and privileges of which they have been deprived—if they would only do this, we believe they would stand wholly acquitted of any neglect of duty, were they to leave the people to educate themselves.

If, after the rectification of social abuses—the re-endowment of the unenfranchised with their natural privileges, and the removal of all obstacles to popular prosperity—it shall be found that the people are still prevented by poverty from educating their children, it will then be time enough to consider the propriety of government interference. Meanwhile, we shall assume that those innate principles of humanity, which have been pointed out as the natural instruments—the moral agencies which the Almighty has provided for the mental development of each successive generation, are far better fitted for the fulfilment of the specified purpose, than any cumbrous, complex system, which can be contrived by fallible men; and we will never be guilty of such disrespect to the Omnipotent, as to suppose that an apparatus of invisible influences, which he has created to compass a particular end, will be rendered inefficient by the intervention of unforeseen physical circumstances.

### General News.

#### FOREIGN.

##### AMERICA.

The Hibernia steam ship, of the royal mail packet line from Boston and Halifax, reached Liverpool at six o'clock on Thursday evening, after a passage of only nine days from Halifax, we believe, the shortest passage ever made across the Atlantic. She brings 68 passengers, with New York and Boston papers of the 15th July, and Halifax papers of the 18th. The latter contain letters from two captains of ships who narrowly escaped shipwreck at the entrance of the Bay of Fundy on the same day as the Columbia went ashore; they both state that they found themselves sixty miles further north than their reckoning, owing to the extraordinary current into the Bay of Fundy; and from these and other similar testimonies it is thought that what is called "a freak of nature" had occurred, in a most extraordinary current into the bay at that time, so as to deceive the most experienced seamen. There was no hope of the Columbia being saved; but all the passengers and crew were preserved, the single seaman who was missing having turned up.

There is no political news of importance. The New York papers are discussing a projected convention of the state, for the purpose of amending the constitution, which is now no less than twenty years old, and therefore, according to American notions, rather antiquated.

Great excitement had been produced in New York by a report presented to the board of education from the trustees of some of the schools assisted by public money, recommending that the school books should be so altered as not to offend the scruples either of Roman Catholics, Jews, or infidels. To effect this object it was suggested that the New Testament, the Scripture lessons, Murray's reader, and several other books, should be discontinued! The report was warmly denounced at the board of education, and also by the press, as the result of a combination of opposite sects and infidels against protestantism and the Scriptures.

An inquiry was going on at New York into the alleged insanity of Catharine Cochrane, alias Gilmour, alleged to have murdered her husband in Scotland. Several medical men had given evidence before commissioner Rapelje, and they were all of opinion that the woman was feigning insanity. The inquiry, however, was not concluded.

The excitement in favour of repeal appears to have rapidly subsided, in consequence of an anti-slavery speech of Mr O'Connell's. The *Chronicle's* correspondent says—

"Mr O'Connell's anti-American slavery speech has produced a singular effect at Charleston, South Carolina. Immediately on its publication in that city, the Repeal association held a special meeting, at which several 'indignation speeches' were pronounced against Mr O'Connell, and then the association dissolved finally, distributing its funds to two catholic charitable societies. In Richmond, Virginia, the whole press, and particularly the *Daily Whig*, are strong in their denunciations. The *Whig* says—'O'Connell, in threatening to follow up Irish repeal with the abolition of slavery here, would be justified in his course by the agitation of repeal in this country. If we have a right to interfere with the domestic policy of Great Britain, she has a right to return the compliment, and interfere with our internal concerns. There is no escape from this conclusion.' So in Savannah, Louisville, Mobile, New Orleans, &c."

The same authority gives some information on minor topics of interest.

"There were about twenty men killed in suppressing the recent riots on the Beauharnois canal, in Canada, and fears are entertained that there will yet be other strikes for wages, and outbreaks. The *Montreal Herald* will have it that the French Canadians are organising another rebellion, and that they are organising secret societies, troops, &c.; but I observe that other papers, quite as respectable as the *Herald*, consider the whole matter as an invention intended for the political market.

"In the national convention at Cincinnati, for the

purpose of taking steps to secure the possession of the Oregon territory to the United States, there were 120 delegates, but only four states and one territory were represented, to wit:—Ohio, Indiana, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Iowa. One of the reports adopted, sustained President Monroe's view—that this continent is not open to colonisation by European governments. It was urged upon the government, to take immediate steps 'to settle our north-western boundary with Great Britain'; and Mr Flinn reported, and his report was adopted, to the effect that 'the United States government should make donations of land in the Oregon territory to settlers in that territory.' Several speakers seemed to think that Great Britain would make no serious opposition to the United States' claim; but the official proceedings will not be published for several days. It is not possible, therefore, to give as full an account as I could desire of this important movement. Two features, however, are clear—one, that the delegates were all from the western states—the other, that the demonstration was not as extensive as had been anticipated.

"The Canada corn law went into operation last week. What is going to be the effect of this measure is a matter about which there are various opinions. Most of the papers anticipate a considerable diversion of the wheat and flour trade from our canals to the St Lawrence route. Others say confidently that no wheat or flour will go to Canada this season. A few weeks will determine what course the trade will take.

The papers state that Mr Nicholas Biddle, the well-known financier, has become insane.

The papers give the most flattering reports of the forthcoming wheat crops from all parts of the country, except central and lower Illinois. It is probable, says a New York paper, that the crop will be greater than that of any preceding year.

General Houston, of Texas, has published a proclamation, announcing a cessation of hostilities with Mexico; and Santa Anna has also published a similar document—peace, and probably the independence of Texas to be acknowledged by Mexico; the whole having been brought about, it is said, by the British Minister in Mexico, and the British chargé d'affaires in Texas. It is presumed that, either gradually or immediately, slavery will be abolished in Texas. The negotiations are to be conducted through the British minister and chargé, as mediators.

##### FRANCE.

Queen Christina held a grand levy in the Hotel de Courcelles, on Monday, on the occasion of her birthday. The King, Queen, the Duke d'Aumale, the Duke and Duchess of Nemours, and Madame Adelaide, successively visited the ex-Regent, and M. Guizot and Marshal Soult presented their homage to her Majesty. "The Duke d'Aumale," observes the *Commerce*, "was most gracious to all the Spaniards present in the salon of the mother of Isabel II., and even spoke to them in their native language."

The Belle Poule, with Prince de Joinville and his Brazilian bride on board, arrived at Brest on Saturday; a previous report to that effect having been false. The vessel had been detained by contrary winds.

The session of the chambers closed on Monday, when the royal decree of prorogation was read. Several of the ministers and about one hundred of the deputies were present. They were not expected to re-assemble until the 9th of January.

The appointment of Vice-admiral de Mackaw, as minister of marine and colonies, in the room of Admiral Baron Roussin, was notified in the *Moniteur* of Tuesday.

The Paris correspondent of the *Times* states "that during the entire week, just closed, there have been innumerable conferences at the hotel de Courcelles (the Paris residence of the ex-Queen Regent of Spain), at which assisted the whole of her Majesty's council, the Austrian ambassador, the Prussian minister, the chargé d'affaires of Russia, and (at several of them) M. Guizot, who came in from Auteuil express for the purpose. The result has not transpired, but I think I may venture to repeat that the northern courts, at least, are determined to oppose a marriage of the Queen of Spain or of her sister with a French prince."

The *Toulonnais* of the 27th ult. announces that, in consequence of despatches received by telegraph, the ships of war, *Jemappes* and *Alger*, received orders to sail instantly from Toulon for Tunis, and that they got under weigh for their destination on the afternoon of that day.

The *fêtes* of July had passed over with great quietness and tameness. No demonstrations of a political character were made, as is usually the case, except on the part of a few republican students, who were put down by the police.

A new journal (says the *Chronicle*) appeared on Saturday for the first time; it is called the *Reform*. As its title indicates, its principles are democratic, and it proclaims, as its motto, the sovereignty of the people. It will endeavour, it says, to rally all those of progressive opinions to obtain, in the first place, electoral reform, and thereafter, universal suffrage. This journal will be a sturdy opponent of the French ideas of government, for the first number publishes a list of 500 original shareholders, almost all of whom are landed proprietors, lawyers, literary men, and members of the chamber of deputies, and among whom are the names of MM. Joly, Portalis, Arago, Cremieux, Ledru Rolin, and Audry de Puyraveau. We shall see how the ministerial journals will welcome this new organ of public opinion. Hitherto they have invoked, in favour of the French-Christino insurrection, the principles of the *Journal des Debats* and the *Presse*, which have for twelve years opposed the movement party in France.

##### SPAIN.

Up to the 21st inst, the strange contest which has distracted Spain for some weeks past, seemed not

unlikely to issue in the triumph of Espartero. The members of his cabinet (particularly Signor Mendizabal), with the military and municipal authorities, had induced the inhabitants of the capital to assume so resolute an appearance that General Narvaez had decreed it prudent to draw off his troops to some distance from the city. But on the 22nd inst, the forces under Generals Seoane and Zurbano came up with the late besiegers of Madrid; a conflict ensued, which lasted a quarter of an hour, and was closed by the army of Espartero's generals fraternising with their opponents. Zurbano fled and took refuge in Madrid, while his son and General Seoane were taken prisoners. Narvaez, at the head of the insurgent army, entered Madrid on Sunday evening.

The moment the news of this affair reached Madrid, an immense crowd collected at the Puerta del Sol. Discouragement became general among the National Militia. M. Mendizabal and his friends alone appeared undismayed and determined to weather the storm. They spoke of fortifying themselves in the royal palace, and converting it into a citadel. But the militia was little disposed to second that project; the next morning they surrendered the outer gates to the soldiers who remained in the city, and demanded that a deputation should be sent out to conclude a capitulation with Narvaez. On the 23rd a first conference was held, at which General Aspiroz guaranteed the safety of life and property, and the perfect freedom of opinion to all political parties. He left to the national guards their arms, banners, decorations, and organisation, to be modified at leisure by a junta formed by themselves, in "accordance with the law," as soon as a regular government was re-established. The constitution of 1837 is to be maintained inviolate, and a provisional government to be appointed immediately.

In consequence of these conciliatory measures, the reception of Aspiroz, who entered the city at the head of 5,000 men, was very flattering. On the 24th, however, things began to wear a different aspect. The first breach of the agreement was the re-appointment of the Lopez ministry, with a few variations as follows:—Narvaez, lieutenant-general, captain-general of Madrid, and general-in-chief of all the troops in the capital; Prim, count de Reuss and governor of Madrid; Quinto, political chief; the Duke de Baylen, commandant of the halberdiers; Aspiroz, lieutenant-general and general-in-chief of the first corps of operation; and Cortina, inspector-general of the national guards. Generals Serrano and Narvaez would not consent to the convention of General Aspiroz. Narvaez declared these conditions unacceptable, and insisted that the municipality should resign its functions, that the national militia should give up its arms, the barricades be removed, and the trenches filled up. Finally, after some further negotiation, the authorities were obliged to yield, and surrender at discretion; and the troops of Narvaez entered Madrid on the 24th. The breach of faith on the part of the victorious generals has, however, excited a strong feeling of indignation among the national guards, and complaints of insufficient pay already began to be heard among the troops of the line; 27,000 of whom were now concentrated on Madrid. A large number of Zurbano's officers, who went over to Narvaez, had retired in disgust from the capital, and that general himself has escaped in the guise of a muleteer to join Espartero in the south. Seoane still remained in custody, and was suffering much from illness. M. Arguelles, the Queen's guardian, had given in his resignation. Great efforts were made to arrest M. Mendizabal, the most efficient member of the late government, but it was said that he was concealed at the British legation. On the evening of the 24th the national guards were disarmed. The Madrid journals of the 25th are filled with decrees of various sorts from the new government. One of them, signed "Fermin Caballero," is addressed to the post-office authorities, ordering them to let pass freely all newspapers that may be sent for distribution. The same decree declares, in the most formal terms, that the freedom of the press was fully recognised, and that every Spaniard could publish his sentiments.

Another decree, issued by Serrano, dated the 24th, dismisses the Marquis de Rodil from his place as commander of the Halberdiers. An expeditionary column is immediately to be sent into Andalusia, under Major-general Massaredo, to reinforce General Concha. The remaining troops are to be formed into a *corps d'armée*, of which the generals, the organization, and all other particulars are to be regulated by General Narvaez. The Queen Dowager's birthday had been celebrated with every mark of respect. Salvoes of artillery had ushered in the day. The entry of the troops had concluded on the morning of the 25th. Brigadier Prim had specially been received with the loudest applause, particularly when he reached the Puerta del Sol. The troops defiled before the palace, in presence of the Queen. All the decrees are issued in the name of Isabella II. and the government of the nation. The journals of Madrid which had suspended their publication re-appeared on the 24th. The *Patriota* and *Espectador* have ceased to appear. The state of Madrid may be judged of from the fact, that as many as eight soldiers are lodged upon the proprietor of a single floor. Zurbano's troops, who were still suspected of being favourable to the Regent, had been dispersed over the general body. The leading men of Espartero's party are all concealed, knowing that their lives would not be worth an hour's purchase if discovered. The following extracts from the *Times* correspondence convey probably a correct view of the condition and designs of the several parties:—

"Orders have been issued for the reinforcement of General Concha by the march of 20,000 men to Andalusia under the command of Marshal Massaredo, selected



from battalions most compromised against the Regent, with orders to pursue him and him alone, and if possible to shoot him. The most treacherous plans are laid to get rid of him. Troops are going from this to pass over to him, with the special mission to assassinate him as soon as they get him fairly within their reach! This I know from communications on the part of those actually preparing to take part in the mission, and they have become so debased (I must call it) by participating in successful treachery, that they have learned to think of it as a mere matter of course!"

"These appointments are believed to be only to serve a temporary purpose; and that, as soon as the absolute Christiano military party find the Regent and their more dangerous foes got rid of, they will have no scruple in sacrificing Lopez and his friends of the progresista school, who betrayed the Regent and the constitution to gratify their thirst of leadership. They are mere cats' paws, and as such we shall see them scooped at as soon as Maria Christina secures the chestnuts. The design is, as I am well assured, to call "France to the rescue," and give Louis Philippe a family claim to direct interference and tutelage; to lose no time, but to make the declaration of the Queen's majority serve a triple purpose:—1, to depose Espartero; 2, to legalise a provisional government of his enemies; and, 3, to serve as the first step to the ceremony of the betrothment of her Majesty with the Duc d'Aumale."

The last accounts received state that Espartero was on the 19th at Ecija, about half way between Cordova and Seville, and within two days' march of the latter place. The direction of his retreat seems to intimate that he was not proceeding towards Portugal, but to Cadiz. Van Halen was waiting for him at Alcala de Guadaira, a village on the Cadiz road within two leagues of Seville. Espartero is not obliged to pass through the capital of Andalusia in order to proceed to Cadiz. It lies two leagues to his right in an angle, which he cuts off by proceeding straight down from Ecija. Van Halen was in observation before Seville, to force the insurgents to remain there, and thus prevent them from disturbing Espartero's march. It is impossible to state with accuracy the number of troops with the Regent at present. The *Debats* (which cannot be suspected of any desire to exaggerate his chances of resistance) puts them down at 5,000, and makes those of Van Halen to be about 2,500. If, therefore, Espartero had intended to maintain himself in Cadiz, whether to prolong his resistance, or make conditions, he may find his hopes frustrated, and be obliged to surrender like Seoane, or escape in disguise like Zurbano.

Concha was continuing to follow Espartero, and endeavouring to neutralise the effect of his presence in Andalusia.

The municipality of Saragossa, on learning the entry of Narvaez into Madrid, sent a deputation to Brigadier Amettler, to announce to him that the city of Saragossa recognised the new government.

At Barcelona the Exaltado party, the opponents of the moderados, were again in the ascendant, and much anxiety was felt as to the course they would pursue with respect to the new state of things.

## PORTUGAL.

The Queen of Portugal was safely delivered of a Princess on the 22nd; both were doing well, and great rejoicings, with illuminations, had taken place at Lisbon in consequence. Espartero had not entered Portugal, and at Lisbon it was reported that he had proceeded from Madrid towards Seville, at the head of about 5,000 men, but it was not known if he intended to proceed to Cadiz. It is, however, said that the British commander had instructions to receive him on board should he make an application for protection; from which it would appear an opinion was entertained that his troops would be induced to join the insurgents, and that he would in such event endeavour to seek refuge under the British flag.

## FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

**ARRIVAL OF ONE OF THE PRISONERS FROM CABOOL.**—Amongst the passengers landed from the ship Windsor, which arrived on the 22nd instant from Calcutta, with a detachment of the 49th regiment, are Mrs Eyre and son, the wife of Lieutenant Vincent Eyre, of the Bengal Artillery, and late Commissary of Ordnance at Cabool, whose able narrative of the events which occurred there, and of the disasters which befell our ill-fated army, has made so much noise in the world. This is the first arrival in England of those ladies who displayed such heroic conduct under the unprecedented hardships, privations, and terrible scenes, which they witnessed during a siege and captivity which lasted for eleven months.

Advices from St. Domingo to the 1st of July, inform us that the island was perfectly quiet, and the public affairs harmoniously conducted by the provisional government.

The Crane packet, from Rio de Janeiro, has brought as passenger M. Ribiero, appointed secretary to the ambassador, charged with the negotiation of a new commercial treaty with this country.

The *Toulonnais* publishes the following letter from Mascara, July 5:—"Abd-el-Kader has again escaped the pursuit of our soldiers by an almost miraculous flight, thanks to the simplicity of his costume. The Spahis, who thought only of plunder, abandoned the principal personage to strip the Emir's physician, a Frenchman, who was richly dressed, and rode a horse splendidly caparisoned, and yet this person pointed with his finger to the Emir, who was only 10 paces off, tightening the girths of his horse. The day before yesterday the Emir in person was attacking tribes under the cannon of Mascara."

The *Augsburg Gazette* mentions a report that the King of the French is not opposed to the idea of

marrying the young Queen of Spain to an Italian Bourbon, and that negotiations on the subject have been opened with the court of Lucca.

The *Magdeburg Gazette* contains the following mysterious paragraph:—"The Bavarian government has taken measures to prevent the periodical press of that kingdom from publishing the important documents relating to the royal family of England, which are in the possession of Colonel M., son of the Duke of Sussex."

**MURDER AND EXPLOSION.**—Intelligence has been received of the blowing up of the *Diana*, South sea whaler, while on her return to England, and the death of Captain May, who commanded her. The vessel was on her homeward voyage; and, on the 5th of April, while near the island of Ascension, attempting to reach St. Helena, those on deck were alarmed by the report of fire-arms. They immediately rushed to the spot, and one of the party, having entered the cabin, discovered the corpse of their late commander lying on the floor, weltering in his blood. Upon a subsequent examination it was found he had been shot, and a pistol was found in one corner of the cabin between six and seven feet from the poor man's body. It is supposed that the captain was assassinated, and suspicion is attached to the second mate. The *Diana* since reached St. Helena in safety, where the authorities were informed of the circumstances, and the depositions of several of the crew were taken by the vice-consul. She was ordered to sail from St. Helena on Wednesday, the 26th of that month, and only a few hours previous to the time appointed for the starting, the powder magazine blew up, causing the almost total destruction of this fine vessel. The sufferers, one by one, were extricated from the shattered timbers of the vessel. The remains of the poor steward were discovered shockingly mutilated, and in the course of the day were conveyed on shore. The explosion had been caused by the wilful firing of the powder magazine. The coroner's jury returned a verdict of "Wilful murder against some person or persons unknown."

The *Gazette of Aix-la-Chapelle* states, that the diet of the Prussian provinces, sitting at Dusseldorf, had resolved, by a majority of 46 to 26, to address his Majesty to abrogate the laws interfering with the liberty of the press, and to introduce a law to abolish the existing censorship, a measure demanded by the necessities of the epoch.

**TURKEY.**—Private advices from Constantinople of the 12th inst. state, that the Sultan had invested Riza Pasha, the grand marshal of the palace, with the supreme control over the war and navy departments, or in other words with the lieutenant-general of the empire. Three camps were in progress of formation, and the vessels of the imperial navy were constantly employed in conveying troops to Adrianople, and the other places selected for the establishment of those camps.

## DOMESTIC.

## METROPOLITAN.

## GREAT ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETING.

A meeting of the members and friends of the National Anti-corn-law League was held on Saturday, at the Crown and Anchor tavern, Strand, for the purpose of congratulating the electors of the city of Durham on the recent victory they had so nobly achieved for the cause of free trade, by returning John Bright, Esq., as their representative to parliament. Long before the hour appointed for taking the chair, not only the largest room in the tavern was crowded, but many hundreds were assembled in another room, of almost equal dimensions, where they were addressed during the evening by many of the gentlemen who were the principal speakers in the more immediate meeting of the evening.

The Hon. C. P. VILLIERS, M.P., was called to the chair, and briefly addressed the meeting, congratulating them on the triumph that had lately been achieved for the free trade cause at the late Durham election.

Dr BOWRING then made a short speech, in the course of which he made the following clever hit:—

He confessed that some melancholy thoughts came over him when he contrasted the opinions out of doors, from which their friend had just come, with the opinions within doors of that House to which he had been sent. At that moment the old epigram passed through his mind, which perhaps some of them would recollect. When Dr Goodenough was called upon to preach before the House of Commons, a wit of those days said—

"'Tis well enough that Goodenough should to the Commons preach,

For sure enough they're bad enough for Goodenough to teach!"

[cheers and laughter]. And then it occurred to him to add another couplet, which seemed as appropriate as the former—

"'Tis meet enough and fit enough the House should be enlightened,

For sure enough they're dull enough, and wanting to be brightened [roars of laughter]!"

Mr BRIGHT was then introduced and received with enthusiastic cheering. He commenced by referring to the previous election at Durham, and then gave a short history of the means of agitation resorted to during the recent contest.

Neither he nor his friends sought to excite their feelings against Sir Robert Peel or in favour of Lord John Russell. They did not talk about majorities or minorities in parliament, or about what amount of patronage would accrue to him if he were returned their member, or anything else of a party and selfish description. No; what he and his friends talked to them about were matters concerning their own welfare. They told them that as men they had a common interest with themselves; they explained to them what was the nature of the corn law—who were the parties that passed it—for whose interest it was passed—and how it was maintained. They showed

to them that it was not for the tailors, the carpenters, the shoemakers, the shopkeepers of the city of Durham that that law was enacted [cheers]. They told the people of Durham that they were paying 3d. a pound more for their sugar than they had any right to do, which 3d. a pound went into the pockets of the West India planters. They told them, that whenever their wives made for them or their children a cup of coffee, there stood by them a hideous, but unseen monster, called monopoly, who drank another cup of coffee at their expense [hear, hear]. When they addressed the people of Durham, on every occasion, they had an excellent reporter at their elbow, who took down everything they said, and when the meeting was over, his reports were instantly committed to the press, and the next morning every elector and every inhabitant of Durham and its vicinity had a copy of all the speeches in his possession. During their canvass they entered scores and hundreds of houses, in which they found the husband or wife busily engaged in perusing these speeches, and making themselves acquainted with the subject [hear, hear]. To the many freemen and others whom we found either altogether out of employment, or working at very low wages, we explained how it was that the corn laws diminished the amount of labour and reduced its wages, at the same time that they increased the price of provisions [hear, hear]. We did not find any of those intelligent men disposed to believe the statement of the monopolists, that the reduction of the price of articles of food would reduce the wages of the working classes [hear]. They were not to be gulled by the absurd notion that the abolition of the corn laws could be injurious to them. The non-electors came forward manfully, they canvassed for the league candidate, but they did not intimidate [hear, hear]. No; not one single canvasser or voter in their interest unduly influenced one single shopkeeper in any way or degree whatever [hear, hear]; but they went to the freemen, and begged and prayed them in the name of all that was sacred and honest to vote for the free-trade candidate; a well-conceived address was drawn up to the electors of Durham, and signed in a very short space of time indeed, by between 3,000 and 4,000 of the inhabitants, entreating them to vote for the repeal candidate [hear, hear].

One cause of his success was the fact, that he did not go to Durham as a party man.

He was persuaded that if he had gone to the electors of Durham, merely as a whig, to ask them to support him against Mr Purvis, merely because he was a tory, Mr Purvis would at this moment be member for Durham [hear, hear]. He had an intense desire that the people of this country should know what they are, and who they are [hear, hear]—should ask themselves, and resolve this question, whether they or the aristocracy were the people [cheers]—whether the country was theirs, or was merely the estate of the aristocracy [loud cheers]—whether the aristocracy was to last longer in it than they? [hear, hear]. The leaders of the different parties seemed to consider the people as quite subsidiary to faction; they neither consulted their interests nor their feelings [hear, hear]; in the heart of the people at large there was no response whatever to the cry of party [hear, hear, hear]; but speak to them of trade, of their employments, their income, their expenditure, their sufferings, their wives, their children—of those subjects with which were connected their social happiness or misery—and you will find that every man and woman amongst them has a heart which will respond to what you say, and that they will come forward as one in support of a great principle [cheers].

He then in graphic and truthful terms described his impressions on taking his seat in the House of Commons, and hearing the party debate of Friday night.

What was his first night's experience there? A debate was going on, in which a great deal was said about the useless expenditure that had been made of the public time, yet as to the debate itself, if a man had dropped from the clouds on to the floor of the house, and had listened to what was said on one side and the other, he would not for one moment have suspected that there were twenty-seven millions of people outside the house whose prosperity, nay, the very existence of thousands of whom, depended on the deliberations of that assembly [hear, hear, hear]; for very little real reference did there seem to be to the people. Lord John Russell opened with a very good speech indeed, with excellent points in it, now and then telling jokes, and above all, a solemn warning to the government, who would not go out of office that he might come in ["hear, hear," and laughter]. Then Sir Robert Peel got up, and looked as though he was going to trounce Lord J. Russell in a very effectual manner, for he seemed terribly indignant; but it was all smoke [laughter]. He certainly did what man could do to defend the present government, but it would have exceeded the powers of an angel to explain to the house or to the country, how it was that, with a majority in the House of Commons of more than a hundred, with nearly all the House of Lords at its back, with a starving people before them, with decaying trade, with insurrection threatening them more or less near, in Ireland, in Wales, in the north of England, with disease eating into the very heart's core of the empire, that, under all these circumstances, this long session should well nigh have passed over and the government not be able to point to one single measure which could in the slightest degree ameliorate the condition of the people [loud cheers]. By and by Lord Palmerston got up, and made a very clever speech, which would have done admirably well if there had been no country, no people in the question. It would have been an excellent speech for a debating club, with shrewd hits and sharp cuts at the ministry, and a vast deal about Afghanistan and Scinde, and the condition of Spain question; about everything, in short, except the condition of England question [hear, hear]. Then Lord Stanley could sit still no longer, and he made a speech apologetical for the government's having done so little, and so it went on. The result of the whole, as far as the people are concerned, being to show, that the one party is not much better than the other, that there is a strong family likeness between them, neither being earnestly wishful to do that which the country needs and requires at their hands. There was, therefore, an indispensable necessity that the country should exhibit a strong, a stern, an uncompromising determination to have justice done, and to promote the great object themselves, by every constitutional means in their way, so as to bring the two factions who had hitherto, for their own interests, made a victim of the country, effectually to their senses [hear, hear].



Mr Bright concluded a long and eloquent speech in the following terms:—

He did not thank them on personal grounds, for he had pressed more than one man to stand as a candidate instead of himself. It was not of his own seeking that he had become their representative; in the first place, it was accidentally, and, lastly, it was almost compulsorily; but now that it had taken place, he hoped he should with zeal advocate the rights of those hard-working men, who had given him their confidence by promoting every measure that would enable them to obtain work, and a due remuneration for their labour [cheers]. He again thanked that vast assembly for the approbation they then expressed of the conduct of the electors and non-electors of Durham. He knew that in the neighbourhood of that city, an immense effect had been produced by the victory which the Durham electors had achieved. He believed that to many members who now misrepresented the people, what had taken place in Durham might be considered a warning to quit. A holy and sacred fire had been kindled under the walls of that ancient cathedral, and by the agency of the League, a spark of that holy fire would be sent to every town and city in the empire, till the inhabitants should rise up in one great and sacred and world blessing confederacy, and put down this most grievous monopoly, which a usurping aristocracy had inflicted upon this country.

He resumed his seat amidst tumultuous cheering, waving of hats, handkerchiefs, &c.

Mr COBDEN then proposed the three following resolutions:—

"That this meeting hereby offer to the 488 electors of Durham their hearty congratulations on the triumphant result of their noble exertions for the return of John Bright, Esq., the distinguished advocate of the total and immediate repeal of the corn laws, and all other commercial restrictions. 2. That to the non-electors of Durham this meeting would convey the expression of their high admiration for the cordial and efficient support which so eminently aided so glorious a victory. 3. That an example so worthy of applause and of imitation be recommended to the electors and non-electors of the United Kingdom; and that in the judgment of this meeting, the time is arrived when the squabbles of party and private interest should be merged in the nobler effort for the emancipation of a nation's industry."

After a few observations on the importance of this triumph to the anti-corn-law cause, Mr Cobden adverted to the means of defraying Mr Bright's expenses.

He had just got a letter from their excellent friend John Brookes of Manchester. "Money (said John Brookes) must be had. Say how much, and it shall be got in a short time." He then said, "Sir Thomas Potter has taken the matter up in his usual style; for, when I called upon him for £5, he said, 'That is nothing—I have given £10, and will give £100 if wanted.'" Mr Brookes went on to say, "Tell Mr Bright he must make out an account of his expenses, including his journey to London, and then including the cab down to the house, so that we may place him free on the boards of the house of Commons, facing Peel, that he might say to him, 'Here I am without a shilling expense, just like Brotherton there!'" Mr Brookes went on to tell him, what it was quite unnecessary to say, that John Bright had lots of friends, and that he could get money to any amount that was wanted, but that he wanted names to his list more than money. He then inclosed a list of subscribers, which was headed "John Brookes, £50" (cheers). That was the way they did things in Lancashire, and there were lots more of "that same" on fitting occasions.

He then referred to the relative position of the Anti-corn-law League and other parties seeking reforms.

There was one portion of the resolution which he thought it important to draw the attention of the meeting to. It was said that the time was come when party and selfish interests should be put aside in favour of universal freedom. His experience in the house of Commons had convinced him that, as at present constituted, the people had nothing to expect from either of the great parties who were now keeping up a show of contention about public affairs, very much in the same manner as men who fight with gloves, neither party seriously wishing to do the other harm [laughter]. Now it occurred to him that another and a third party might be very justly formed, and for its name it might be called "the party of practicals," if you please [cheers]. Let there, then, be a party of practicals who would try whether they could not make these great battles of the giants in some measure conducive to the interests of the pigmies [cheers]. As one means to accomplish that, they must be true to their principles. They must not be inclined to swerve from them for any party or person whatever. In the first place, he would say to the agricultural party, who fancied that the Anti-corn-law League had some horrid ulterior object in view—he would say to Lord Radnor, to Lord Ducie, to Lord Kinnaird, and to the rest of that noble band who had joined them—he would say to them that the League, in its present contentions, had no object beyond that which it had avowed, nor should its organisation ever be applied to any other object than that which its fundamental rule applied. He would say, on the other hand, to other parties who were wishing to carry other objects not included in the views of the League, he would say to them, "We are no monopolists; there will be something for you to do who do not join with us, and something for your children to do after you." And while the League would not join them in carrying out other objects, as a league, it would not go out of its way to molest them, or allow of their being molested, if it could help it.

He thought it was the duty of the whigs to join them in the struggle for total repeal, since out of 240 liberal members, 125 had voted for Mr Villiers' motion (in addition to 25 absent supporters), who was thus supported by a decided majority on that side of the house.

Mr SHARMAN CRAWFORD, who was received with loud cheers, then addressed the meeting. It was a proud thing to any constituency to return such a man on such principles [hear, hear]. It was a glorious thing to see a constituent body relieve themselves from the trammels of corruption, and send into parliament a representative who was ready to stand by the people in the effort to destroy monopolies of every description, who was eager to give the people cheap food, and to abolish, in short, that class legislation, which had hitherto been the curse of this country. It was to class legislation, to the predominance of classes over the great body of the peo-

ple, that all their misfortunes were attributable. They could not have prosperity till class legislation was abolished, and class legislation was only to be abolished by sending such men as John Bright into the House of Commons [loud cheers].

After addresses from Mr Brotherton, Mr Moore, &c., the meeting dispersed.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION.—On Tuesday se'nnight the first anniversary festival in commemoration of the opening of the hall in High Holborn, was held at that place, at which there were at least two hundred persons present to tea, amongst whom were many ladies. After the tea, W. J. Fox, Esq., took the chair, and opened the proceedings with a short address. Mr Lovett then proceeded to read the first annual report, by which it appeared that the objects of the association were the political and social improvement of the people, and the means to attain them were to create an enlightened public opinion in favour of equality of political rights, and the establishment of halls similar to this, in which instruction and amusement are blended, apart from the means of intoxication and vicious example. During the year there had been sixty-eight lectures delivered in the hall on various subjects affecting the well-being and happiness of society. During the winter months they had a singing class composed of 250 members, and a dancing class of 305 pupils; there was a large and commodious room handsomely fitted up as a coffee and reading room, amply supplied with papers, magazines, and periodicals, for the use of the members, and a library of upwards of 700 volumes; there were several private classes established, and on Saturday evenings they had harmonic meetings, having for their object the promoting of kindly feelings amongst, and the providing rational amusement for, the members. The report further stated that there were about 350 London members, and that the directors intended, seeing that so much had been accomplished locally, to extend their organisation throughout the country. Mr Statham, Mr Parry, Mr Sharman Crawford, Esq., M.P., Mr Vincent, and Mr Neesom, afterwards addressed the meeting, which appeared highly delighted with the evening's entertainment. The following are the three last of the excellent sentiments proposed in the course of the evening:—

"3. Prosperity to the National association, may its principles be widely extended and appreciated, and may reformers of all shades of opinions be led to perceive that halls and schools of this description are among the most efficient means for working out the political and social improvement of the people.

"4. The speedy triumph of true democracy—the representation and government of all, devoted to the welfare of all—the intellect and morality of all devoted to the instruction and happiness of all the human family. May all good men devote themselves to the task of undeceiving the public mind respecting the falsehood, prejudice, error, and intolerance, which open foes and assumed friends have blended with the name of democracy, so that it may soon be understood and appreciated in all its sterling excellence.

"5. May the grand humanising and truly moral work which the advocates of peace have commenced be helped forward by every tongue and pen devoted to the social reformation of the people; so that the heroism of battle, the pomp of war, and the brutalising occupation of the soldier, may soon cease to exercise their pernicious influences on the human mind, and the oppressors of the world be deprived of their chief instruments of power."

LONDON SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF YOUNG FEMALES.—On Tuesday, the eighth annual meeting of the friends and subscribers to the above excellent institution was held at the Asylum, situate at Tottenham; Benjamin Bond Cabbell, Esq., in the chair. After some introductory remarks, the chairman called upon the secretary to read the report, which detailed the operations of the Society for the past year. It appeared that, during that period, some important measures had been adopted by the committee, for obtaining an improvement in the laws upon the subject of juvenile female prostitution; and a confident hope was expressed that the subject would be brought under the notice of the legislature before the close of the present session. The report stated, that above 100 infamous houses had been suppressed in various parts of London since the commencement of the Society, and that proceedings had been instituted against a number of those merciless and wretched beings, whose avocations are to lure young and unprotected females to destruction. About the latter end of last year the establishment was removed from Mile-end to Tottenham, and the house now occupied by the Society is capable of accommodating above 150 inmates. There are now 33 females within its walls, the majority of whom are under fourteen years of age. The report further stated, that the prospects of the Society were most encouraging, and that, at no previous period of its history, did it present such facilities for usefulness. The receipts for the past year amounted to £1,242 10s. 10d., and the expenditure to £1,234 15s. 4d., leaving a balance in favour of the Society of £7 5s. 6d. Several resolutions conducive to the future interests of the charity having been adopted, a vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the chairman, who acknowledged the same, and the meeting separated.

FATHER MATHEW IN LONDON.—On Monday a great concourse of people assembled in the Commercial road East, to hear and see the Rev. Theobald Mathew, who had announced his intention of administering the total abstinence pledge in the ground lately consecrated by a Roman Catholic bishop, on the south side of the Commercial road, opposite the George inn. A temporary platform had been erected for the various persons who intended to take part in the proceedings, and, a few minutes before the arrival of Father Mathew, it gave way

with a loud crash, precipitating about fifty persons who were on it to the ground. This accident created great alarm, but, fortunately, no person was hurt, and the scaffold was soon put up again, and supported in a more substantial manner. Father Mathew was surrounded by the leading members of the various Temperance and Teetotal societies in London. The poles supporting the platform were decorated with flags and banners, bearing appropriate inscriptions, and various parties, chiefly Roman Catholics, commenced taking the pledge, kneeling down and repeating the pledge after Father Mathew. At twelve o'clock Earl Stanhope arrived and was loudly cheered by the people. At this time there were not less than 30,000 persons assembled, and the Commercial road was nearly impassable. Earl Stanhope and Father Mathew shook hands, and the noble lord addressed the multitude for nearly an hour, and said he had been a teetotaler for many years, and invited his hearers to follow his example. He declared his intention of publicly taking the pledge from Father Mathew, and warmly eulogised the rev. gentleman for his useful and patriotic exertions in Ireland, and expressed a fervent hope that his mission in England would be attended with similar results. Father Mathew then called upon those who were anxious to come forward and take the pledge with Earl Stanhope, to do so. A semicircle was formed, and three hundred men and women knelt down and received the pledge. Earl Stanhope, who laboured under considerable agitation, was directly afterwards embraced by Father Mathew, who, in the enthusiasm of the moment, kissed his cheek. The noble Earl smiled, and grasped Father Mathew's hand, exclaiming "God bless you, sir." The delivery of speeches and the administration of the pledge were proceeded with till dusk, when Father Mathew left the ground, having previously announced his intention of attending in the same place for the same purpose every day this week. About three thousand persons took the pledge during the day, one half of whom were Irish. From the appearance of many of them the total abstinence pledge appeared to be very necessary.

THE WESTERN AFRICAN MISSION.—On Thursday; at the court of common council, alderman W. Hunter brought up a report, recommending the grant of £250 to the Rev. John Clarke, missionary, towards the purchase of a steam-vessel, to be employed in connection with the Western African Mission. Mr Lawrence opposed the report, and moved, "that it be laid upon the table," an amendment which was negatived by a majority of ten. He then moved an amendment that the sum of £100 be granted instead of £250. Upon the show of hands, the Lord Mayor declared that the affirmatives and negatives were equal, and being then called upon to vote, his lordship turned the scale in favour of the amendment.

THE CARTOONS IN WESTMINSTER HALL.—In consequence of the vast number of persons who have been anxious to view the cartoons in Westminster hall, the commissioners of woods and forests have given orders for the exhibition, which it was intended to close on Saturday last, to be kept open to the public for another fortnight, and if necessary for three weeks. The commissioners wish for the fullest opportunity possible to be afforded to the public of viewing these works of British artists.—Standard.

HEROIC CONDUCT OF A LAD OF COLOUR.—On Sunday afternoon a party of fifteen persons, chiefly lads, got a large skiff from some one of the coal wharfs on Millbank, with which they proceeded up the river. They had scarcely passed by Chandler's, and just off the Penitentiary wall, when the rowers ran the boat across one of the mooring chains in the river, and almost instantaneously it was upset, and the whole party precipitated into the water, with a very strong tide, and some distance from the shore. The occurrence was witnessed by many persons on the banks, and the utmost alarm was felt for the safety of the parties, eight of whom, however, were speedily got to the shore. A young man of colour, of the name of Snell, immediately attempted to rescue the remainder. Six of the others he got out by his own unaided exertions, and had actually gone in for the seventh time to rescue the remaining person, whom he reached and caught hold of; but finding the suction of the barges too great for him in his exhausted state, and fearing that if he continued his attempts both lives would be sacrificed, he reluctantly made for the shore alone. The drags were immediately obtained, and used all the afternoon without success. They were again put in requisition on Monday, and the body of the deceased was found.

A FEMALE SAILOR.—On Sunday morning a policeman observed a person in the garb of a midshipman walking over Finchley common. Suspecting that all was not right, he entered into conversation, and soon discovered that his companion was a female. She said she had come from Leicestershire, having been living in service, for the purpose of seeking her lover, who had come to London. She said she intended, if she did not meet with him, to enter as a cabin boy, and that if she failed in getting a berth she should commit suicide. She stated herself to be twenty-one years of age, and was detained, until inquiries can be made.

FRIGHTFUL SCAFFOLD ACCIDENT.—On Friday morning a man named William Parry, a bricklayer, 57 years of age, fell from the third story of the house No. 26, Park-street, Hyde-park, a height of upwards of 40 feet, into the area below. He was immediately conveyed in an apparently dying state to St. George's hospital; but the injuries he had sustained in the back, limbs, and head, are of such a nature as to leave but slight hopes of his surviving. The imprudent man had been standing upon a single plank,



and at length, finding that he required to be raised for the purpose of finishing his work, he procured a box, but had no sooner placed his feet thereon than the plank gave way, and he was precipitated on to the area pavement.

## PROVINCIAL.

**DURHAM ELECTION.**—In the postscript of our last number, we gave the result of this contest up to one o'clock. The anticipations of our correspondent, that Mr Purvis would not be able to recover ground, were correct, and at the close of the poll the numbers were—Mr Bright 488, Mr Purvis, 410; majority for Mr Bright, 78. The loss of this election by Mr Purvis is mainly ascribed, by the conservatives, to the utter want of sympathy towards him by the Marquis of Londonderry. The friends of Mr Bright, however, state that, under any circumstances, he would have been successful, although, of course, the neutrality of Lord Londonderry in some measure damaged his opponent. At the close of the poll on Tuesday evening, Mr Bright harangued an immense assemblage in the Market place, from the hustings, and was hailed with almost universal expressions of congratulation on the victory he had achieved. The enthusiasm shown by the non-electors on behalf of Mr Bright throughout the election was very great, and the result is regarded as a great triumph to the cause of free trade and complete suffrage. At the late election Mr Bright polled 405 votes; taking 83, the present advance on that number, from 507, Lord Dungannon's number of voters, would leave Mr Purvis in a minority of 64. The tory papers are most indignant at the conduct of the Marquis of Londonderry, and call Mr Bright his lordship's representative.

**MR COBDEN IN HEREFORDSHIRE.**—On Wednesday Mr Cobden, in company with Colonel Thompson, visited the city of Hereford to discuss the corn law question with the tenant farmers. Various influential landowners, and a number of yeomanry and farmers were present. The audience amounted to about three thousand persons. A resolution in favour of free trade was carried almost unanimously.

**MR COBDEN AT CHELMSFORD.**—Messrs Cobden and Moore again visited the county of Essex on Friday, Chelmsford, the centre of the agricultural district, being chosen for the place of meeting. Sir J. Tyrrell and the leading monopolists of the county, wise from former experience, prudently declined mixing themselves up in the matter, and did not appear to give Mr Cobden the promised "dusting." Notwithstanding, however, the example of their leaders, a large number of farmers attended, and an audience of from three to four thousand assembled to hear the arguments of the anti-corn-law deputation. Mr Holt White, a whig, entered the lists against Mr Cobden, but was worsted in the encounter. A resolution in favour of free trade was met by one favourable to protection; the former was, however, carried by at least two to one.

## STATE OF SOUTH WALES.

The *Times* reporter has, in addition to the usual account of outrages, busied himself in collecting information as to the grievances under which the people suffer. One of these burdens he thus describes:—

I was told, and at first I could not believe it, that in some places, at a distance from the lime-kilns, the farmers had to pay, for every £5's worth of lime for manure, £6 in turnpikes! As I before informed you, lime is the chief manure here. In the county of Cardigan there are no lime-kilns, or very few, from the quality of the stone there found; and it is usual for the farmers in Cardiganshire, and on the borders of Carmarthenshire adjoining, to go for their lime either to the sea-board, where it is brought by vessels, or to the kilns near the town of Carmarthen, at a place called Llangyndarn, which is about five miles the other side of Carmarthen. To this place the farmers, as far off as Llandysissal, Llairwenog, and even nearly as far as Lampeter, a distance from 15 to 25 miles, come to buy their lime. At the kilns a two-horse load of lime costs from 2s. 6d. to 3s. From Carmarthen to the kilns (five miles) there are four turnpikes, two of them paying ones—i. e. 6d. each for a cart and two horses; taking two or three other paying turnpikes, according to the distance (and in some of the distant bye-places there are four), between the neighbourhood of Lampeter and Carmarthen, in addition, and you have other two or three sixpences, or half-a-crown for turnpikes for half-a-crown for lime manure—that is, £5 for £5 or more, as the farmer told me. I have taken some care to ascertain the truth of this; it is a fact, and it must speak for itself. Can you wonder that here turnpikes are obnoxious to the miserably poor farmers I have described to you? The end of this is evident. Rents must fall; and the sooner the landlords make up their minds to moderate their rents, and relieve the farmers of their burdens in some degree, the sooner will the peace and quiet of the country be restored.

Another correspondent of the *Times* corroborates these particulars.

"But, sir, it is not only the turnpike tolls the farmers have to contend against, but also the heavy market dues in the towns. It frequently happens—indeed, I have seen it—that the last 1s. 6d. has been spent in turnpikes, and before the poor creatures could realise the value of their articles in the market, the collector has come round for his dues; and if the money is not paid, 'their baskets are seized' for what is called 'pitching,' taken off to the toll house, and condemned. These are facts not to be denied—they are well known to the magistrates; but no steps have ever been taken (except by one gentleman) to redress these grievances. Can you wonder, then, at these persons taking the law in their own hands? Many of the farmers travel fifteen and twenty miles to market with scarce a farthing in their pockets, and they know what to anticipate on their arrival."

Now, what steps have been taken by the local magistracy to remedy this state of things—to redress the grievances of the people—to put an end to their oppressions? To reduce those monstrous market dues, or diminish the number of toll gates? No, none of these. But it has been decreed by the magistrates of Carmarthenshire, that a rural police shall forthwith be raised—the expense of which will fall upon the county—and £600 or £700 has been subscribed by Earl Cawdor and others, to build a new barracks!

With respect to other grievances, the evidence does not appear to be of so unexceptionable a character in this same report. From other accounts we learn that meetings are almost daily held in the local districts near Pontyberen and Cwmawr (now the

chief scene of the disturbances), at which resolutions were carried to the effect that "the people are determined to submit no longer to the oppressive exactions levied on them in the shape of tolls;" that "they wish the abolition of all tithes and rent charges in lieu of tithes;" that "they will endeavour by all means in their power to cause the abolition of church rates;" next "that they will petition for an alteration in the poor law;" and, lastly, they state their determination to have "an equitable adjustment of their landlords' rents." The *Times* reporter flings the following charge in the face of the dissenting ministers of Wales, at the same time volunteering an attack on the voluntary principle:—

"I was rather surprised to learn during my inquiries that the text I sent to you some time ago, the 34th chapter of Genesis and 60th verse, on which the Rebeccaite is said to found their proceedings, has frequently been preached from in the Baptist, Independent, and dissenting chapels, and that the preachers have advised the people to their outrageous proceedings. The Wesleyan Methodist preachers, on the contrary, have pursued an opposite course, and have urged the people not to break the law. This sect, however, in Wales, is not by far so numerous as the various sects of dissenters. I have been informed that Mr Chambers, a magistrate of Llanelli, and a gentleman of considerable influence, sent an address round to all the dissenting ministers, in Welsh and English, urging them to read it to their congregations, and exhort them to refrain from these outrages; but these dissenting ministers of peace, as I have heard, without an exception, refused to do this, stating as their excuse that they durst not do it. This fact exhibits in strong colours one of the worst features of a voluntary system of religion. Dependent on the caprices of their congregations for their livelihoods, they dare not manfully fulfil their duty as the ministers of the religion they profess. I would not willingly imagine that out of very viciousness they preached outrage and infraction of the law to their hearers, but would rather attribute it to the system of voluntarism by which they live. Taken out of the same uninformed class they preach to, and imbued with the same prejudices, they are anxious to please those by whom they live, and thus they add fuel to an already existing flame. Such seems to be an inherent vice of the system."

Mr HALL, of Bow street, has arrived with three accountants, as assistants, to investigate the accounts of all the trusts (of which there are seven) in the county of Carmarthen. It is said that on the Newcastle trust large sums of money will have to be refunded by some of the trustees, in consequence of their having voted for an appropriation of funds contrary to what the law allows. With regard to the second resolution, that respecting the tithes, the example of deferring to the force of public opinion has been set by the Rev. J. W. Pugh, the vicar of Llandilo-fawr, who has remitted half a year's tithe to every tenant in his parish not occupying under a beneficial lease. That there is a strong feeling against church rates in the principality is not to be wondered at, when it is known that seven out of every ten in the country are dissenters. That there needs some adjustment of rent is partly the fault of the tenants themselves, but more owing to the grasping cupidity of the landowners. Meanwhile the destruction of gates continues. Not a night passes by without a gate being destroyed, although a detachment of the 73rd foot is patrolling the roads round Carmarthen nightly. The plans of Rebecca, however, are so well laid, that she and her followers invariably escape being "caught in the fact." Notwithstanding the presence of a strong body of military (says the *Swansea Journal*)—in defiance of the overwhelming force which the authorities of this county have brought to bear upon Carmarthen and its neighbourhood—the acts of those midnight disturbers of the peace continually increase in frequency and audacity. It must now be pretty evident that physical power cannot even check the tendency to commit outrages. To restore good feeling and harmony, the complaints of the people must be listened to, and their wrongs, should any be found to exist, redressed. We select one or two accounts of these outrages:—

On the night of the 25th a troop of the 4th dragoons passed along the Swansea road, and about twelve o'clock visited a gate called the Croas Llwyd turnpike, which is about two miles out of the town of Carmarthen, and the second turnpike on the Swansea road. This gate was threatened to be pulled down on Saturday last, but the dragoons remaining on the watch all night, it was of course unmolested, though the gatekeeper said he heard of the Rebeccaite being in the neighbourhood, watching the soldiers. About one this morning the soldiers left there, leaving two constables by order of the civil authorities, as I understand, to watch near the gate. About two these two valiant worthies were smoking their pipes at a blacksmith's forge near, when they heard a loud whistle, and immediately about thirty men, most of them disguised, some as women, and all armed, some with guns, others with scythes fastened to long sticks, and others with crow-bars, saws, and hatchets, jumped over the hedges in all directions, and surrounded the gate and toll-house. The two constables immediately took to their heels, and ran into the town of Carmarthen, where, almost burst with running, they arrived in about half an hour, and with "each bristled hair standing like a stake," told the cause of their flight to the authorities, whom they knocked up, and no further steps appear to have been taken, as the dragoons were off up the Newcastle Emlyn road, watching a gate there. As was to be expected, this morning the gate was found smashed to pieces, and the toll-house pulled down. On last Friday night, it being reported that two turnpike gates were to be pulled down between Llandilo and Cwmawr, Colonel Trevor and a party of dragoons went out there (as reported to you), and on their way called at the house of a gentleman named Thomas, at Cwmawr, the owner of an extensive colliery, and pressed one of his sons to accompany them and show them the way, which he did. After the dragoons had ridden many miles without meeting with any one, they returned to their quarters, and Mr Thomas, jun., returned home. Afterwards, that very night, the two turnpike gates threatened to be destroyed were destroyed. On Saturday, the next day, Mr Thomas received a threatening letter, giving him notice that as his son had sent for the dragoons, and shown them the way, he was a marked man; that he (Mr Thomas, sen.) had better take care what he was about, and not meddle with Rebecca; and that he would visit his house on Tuesday night. The followers of Rebecca, however, kept their word. About one on Wednesday morning the house was surrounded by colliers and peasants, blowing horns and firing guns. Himself and the ladies of his family, his being a lonely house, were greatly terrified. After remaining about half an hour, they went away without doing any mischief. Next morning a letter was found attached to the front door by a pin, warning Mr Thomas to discharge one of his overlookers; it then went on advising him not to let his wife and daughters talk so much against Rebecca, and proceeded, "As for your son John, he has marked himself well, and I will try and hit the mark." The letter went on to say, that the next time she and her daughters called, they would "raze" his house to the foundation. This was signed "Rebecca Talog," was written in a bold good hand, and the orthography correct.

The examination of persons charged with Rebecca outrages, at Swansea, has been postponed. Some of the parties are highly respectable, and bail to the amount of £60,000 is ready to be offered for their discharge. Indeed, persons came into the town by dozens, from every part of the country within eighteen miles, to offer their bail. This circumstance, however, demonstrates also the universal feeling in favour of Rebeccaism which pervades the whole agricultural community.

## THE IRON AND COAL TRADES IN SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE.

The prospects of these important interests still remain as gloomy as ever. A communication from Birmingham, dated Thursday evening, says—"The accounts received in Birmingham from the neighbouring iron and coal districts are more gloomy than ever, and from the reports of several of the iron masters who are present at to-day's market, I fear a serious crisis is fast approaching. It has indeed already commenced. The Tividale works in Tipton, in the immediate neighbourhood of Dudley, carried on by the Messrs Solly, have stopped. By the stoppage of this extensive establishment a large number of workpeople, both iron-men and coal-men, have been entirely thrown out of employment. It is difficult at present to speak to the amount of the liabilities of the firm. The failure of the Tividale establishment, it is asserted, is only a prelude to the failure of other more extensive concerns. This morning I was told by an influential banker of the neighbourhood, a gentleman whose opinions are generally respected, in a tone of solemn belief, 'All must go; and before Christmas, unless something is done, we shall have 5000 workpeople from the neighbourhood walking into Birmingham to partake of our hospitality.'"

The *Birmingham Journal* has the following paragraph on the state of the district:—

We have alluded elsewhere to the question of the mining interest generally. Since our remarks were written, some unpleasant rumours touching particular interests in the district have reached us, to which we can only remotely allude. It is said that not only are the iron masters in difficulties, which indeed is matter of notoriety, but that the sources of their support hitherto are at length dried up. We have heard of cheques refused, and, it is added, for lack of means to honour them. Should a stoppage, temporary though it may be, take place of any important banking house, the consequences of such temporary stoppage even, could hardly fail to be very serious. An agent of a great house is reported amongst the failures in the district, but that, though no light affair, would be a trifle compared with a bank failure at the present critical moment.

Such is the spread of distress in the comparatively small town of Wednesbury, among the middle classes, that last week between thirty and forty distresses were issued for nonpayment of poor rates. A deputation from the coal miners of the north has been sent to enrol members for the Miners' association. The gentlemen gave an account of their progress through Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, and Staffordshire; their prospects appear flattering to the extreme. Arthur O'Neill has addressed the miners in various parts of the district, and has been unremitting in his endeavours to enforce the necessity of maintaining the peace, whilst at the same time he has been equally anxious to enlighten the minds of the people as to their rights and duties. Of the gloomy prospects of the trade, the *Times* correspondent says—

"The number of unemployed during the past week has gradually increased, and of necessity this number will be fearfully augmented by the stoppage of the large works to which I have alluded. A county magistrate, and himself a large manufacturer of high standing and experience in the district, informed me to-day that it would be to him a matter of no surprise if, in the course of a few weeks, ten thousand (men, women, and children) were deprived, by the want of work, of the means of subsistence."

The correspondent of the *Chronicle* draws an equally fearful picture of the state of the district:—

That there are men of real large capital in the district is beyond all doubt, but it is equally true that the great mass of the iron and coal masters are in difficulties, and that a breaking-up of commercial confidence and credit has commenced in this once flourishing and prosperous portion of the kingdom. In Dudley you hear of nothing but of breaking at this work, smashing at another, bailiffs in a third, and flats against a fourth, and so on. The names of many are openly stated, but I refrain from giving them until their misfortunes become apparent. In addition to £13,000, due by Solleys to the old bank of Dudley, it is said that several other firms are largely indebted to the same establishment, and that they have, as a matter of course, refused further accommodation. Indeed, it is said that they have been obliged to come to this resolution in consequence of the bank of England having refused to receive any more paper from the iron masters of the district, except those whose securities were of an undeniable character. Be this, however, as it may, the crisis for which the iron masters' memorial must have prepared the country has arrived in this part of Staffordshire. The furnaces have been, and are daily being, blown out; the horses are being drawn out of the pits; the works are being closed; the masters are going into the *Gazette*; the men, and their wives and children, are going to the workhouse—or brooding over their miseries in groups along the roads and fields, and without leaders or organisation, threatening wild revenge against all around them. Such is the actual state of things here; and, unless some assistance is rendered before the closing of parliament, my opinion is, that Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues will have other game than grouse to shoot in this district during the recess. He must adopt some means to feed the thousands, who, in a few days more, will actually be perishing for want of bread, or be prepared for the consequences of such a state of society. Distress is now reaching all classes. At a place called Lye, seventy rate payers were summoned for non-payment of poor rates, a few days ago, when they produced their rent books to show that they could not get a shilling from their tenants, that their property was now useless, and that they themselves were on the verge of pauperism. In Dudley it was found, on the 20th instant, that two hundred persons, occupiers of ten pound houses, had become disqualified for voting, from non-payment of their rates, and that the Tories—aye, even Sir Robert's best friends, had refused to open their purses to keep them on the registration, although a majority of them contributed to his return to power.

**THREATENING OUTBREAK IN LANCASHIRE.**—Thursday, July 27th.—The coal miners at Oldham, Ashton-under-Lyne, and the neighbourhoods, are in a very excited state, in consequence of several active agitating operatives in that business from Newcastle-on-Tyne, Wakefield, and other places, having de-



livered lectures at various public houses in the above towns during this and the last week, recommending a turn-out of the miners for an advance of wages. Placards have been posted in various places, calling a meeting of the colliers of the above districts to be held on Kersal moor, in a short time. The placards are headed with the word "Slaves" in large letters, and are expressed in excitable language.—*Leeds Mercury*.

Upwards of two hundred unemployed working men of South Shields have thrown themselves on the parish, and are now employed breaking stones, and covering the churchyard with gravel, at 1s. per day, whilst others have gone into the workhouse, where they receive the food of the house and lodging.—*Durham Chronicle*.

**WIGAN.—TURN-OUT OF COLLIERIES.**—A rumour is current in Wigan and the neighbourhood, that a general turn-out of the colliers is about to take place; and some apprehensions are felt as to the probable consequences. One or two meetings of the men have been held, and the report states that they are in communication with the colliers in various parts of the kingdom.

**ACCIDENT TO MR. FEARGUS O'CONNOR.**—On Tuesday evening last, a chartist meeting took place at a large wool loft, in this town, for the purpose of hearing Mr O'Connor, who intended to give a lecture "on the present state of parties in parliament." The chair was taken by one James Cook, a sheerman, who, in a somewhat singular speech, introduced the great attraction of the evening as "Mister Fergus O'Connor, Esq." There were about 400 persons in the room, who received the charter's champion with great applause; but, before Mr O'Connor had spoken three minutes, one half of the flooring gave way, and the lecturer, with about 150 of the audience, was precipitated to the floor beneath. The scene which ensued beggars description, and we are sorry to state that a poor girl, named Cabell, had her thigh broken; the rest of the company fortunately escaped without injury. Mr O'Connor, in his descent, came in contact with "the devil" (a machine placed on the ground floor, for the purpose of tearing wool apart), whereby his leg got scratched, his trousers sadly torn, and he further incurred the loss of his hat. The parties who remained safe on the top floor were, after about an hour's delay, liberated by ladders.—*Bath Herald*.

**MORTAL BITE OF AN ADDER.**—On Monday se'night, as a little girl, aged four years, daughter of James Angrove, a labourer at Common moor, near Red gate, in the parish of St Cleer, was at play a short distance from her residence, she was bit twice on the hand by an adder, and the poor little sufferer died on the following day.—*West Briton*.

#### IRELAND.

**REPEAL ASSOCIATION.**—At the usual meeting of the Repeal association, on Tuesday, Mr O'Connell moved that the names of all inhabitants of Ahasragh, with the exception of the parish priest, should be blotted from the books of the association. A modification was suggested in favour of those who had not taken part in the riot; but Mr O'Connell was inexorable, and the motion was carried. He moved and carried two other resolutions, declaring that no inhabitant of Ahasragh should be admitted a member of the association, and condemning the erection of triumphal arches. He then brought forward the report of the finance committee, exhibiting the following comparative account of receipts for quarters in 1842 and 1843:—

1842, received from 5th April to 4th July..	£999 9 7
1843, received from 4th April to 3d July ..	15,798 11 3
Increase on the last quarter .....	14,799 1 8

He stated, that on Saturday 10,000l. would be funded; that 1,000l. had been paid towards the new building for the association; and he handed in 622l. from Wexford county, 20l. from St John's, New Brunswick, 30l. from New York, 100l. from Albany, and 100l. from Rhode Island. The repeal rent for the week was announced to be 2,199l. amid protracted cheering.

**STATE OF THE COUNTRY.**—Meath is one of the most populous, Roman catholic, and "agitated" counties in Ireland. The assizes for that county commenced on Thursday at Trim. The commission was opened in the Crown court, by Mr Justice Burton, at twelve o'clock. The grand jury disposed of their portion of the criminal business in an hour and ten minutes, and at two o'clock on Friday the judges, grand jurors, lawyers, litigants, and all had left the town!

**ANTI-REPEAL ORGANISATION.**—At a meeting of noblemen and gentlemen in Belfast, on Monday, the Marquis of Donegall in the chair, steps were taken to call an anti-repeal meeting, on Thursday the 7th September next, "for the purpose of devising a plan for organising the protestants of Ulster, and of adopting measures for the defence and support of their common faith, their property, and their lives." The requisition is signed by various noblemen, magistrates, and many of the gentry. This demonstration will, it is expected, have the effect of stimulating the repeal agitation in the other three provinces.

The dismissal of magistrates for attending repeal meetings still goes on.

**FURTHER RIOTING IN BELFAST.**—The *Belfast Chronicle* contains the following:—"On Sunday evening a funeral left this town for Friar's Bush burying ground, attended by an immense number of Roman catholics. On the return of the cortege down the Dublin road, and when in the neighbourhood of Victoria place, a collision took place between those attending the funeral and the residents in Sandy row

and other places, who had been attracted to the spot. A very serious riot was the consequence, and many individuals on both sides have been desperately wounded. The constabulary, under the command of Mr Giveen, and the local force, with Mr Verner at their head, exerted themselves in the most active manner to suppress the riot, but were unable, and matters proceeded to such an alarming height that it was necessary to call out the 54th regiment, which had the effect of dispersing both parties, and of eventually restoring tranquillity. We regret to know that Mr Verner has been much cut about the face. Sergeant Campbell was also severely bruised; several others of the police have been much abused; and of the opposing parties many have been greatly injured."

**DREADFUL MURDER IN CLARE.**—The *Clare Journal* says a most atrocious murder was perpetrated at Bohadane, in the parish of Killofin, on Wednesday, on a man named Daniel Kean, in the middle of the day, on the high road, within view of many persons who were working in the adjoining fields, and within a few perches of several houses. This poor man was barbarously murdered by some monster at present unknown, by inflicting on his head two wounds, which are supposed to have been done by a stone hammer. There are some circumstances connected with this diabolical act which, it is hoped, may afford a clue to the perpetrators.

**WATERFORD, JULY 21.**—On this day W. M. Alcock, Esq., one of the landing waiters of this port, proceeded on board the William Penn steamer, which had arrived from Liverpool, and seized the following, namely, two cannons, one large cask of gunpowder and ball, also three large tin cases for keeping the powder dry, all of which the officer lodged in her Majesty's custom-house stores here. It appears that they were intended to fortify Caher house, the residence of Lord Glengall. To our great surprise the cannon were neither branded nor marked.—*Shipping Gazette*.

**BISHOP DALY'S CHARGE.**—In reference to the charge delivered by Dr Daly, the new bishop of Cashel and Waterford, at his recent visitation in the cathedral of Lismore, the *Cork Examiner* contains the following:—"We understand that so actually fearful was the charge of Bishop Daly to his clergy and laity, that a protestant rector of the diocese of Lismore rose from his seat, and loudly exclaimed against the doctrines of his bishop! Several protestants, it is said, left the church! This, if true, speaks volumes for the forbearance, moderation, and Christian charity of the first episcopal essay of this Father in God."

#### SCOTLAND.

**STATE OF THE MINING DISTRICTS OF SCOTLAND.**—A correspondent sends us the following startling account:—

"Very soon—in less than a month—you will see all the mining districts in Scotland in a worse position than England is at present. I am in the trade, and I may tell you it never was known to be in a worse state than it is at present. In fact, the iron and coal trade is perfectly ruinous, and the works altogether unsaleable. For the last three years they have been unprofitable; but now, from low prices and the diminution in the quantity that can be got sold, truly the trade is altogether bad; and from the high fixed rents which masters are under for their mineral fields, the masters also, from the interest due on borrowed capital, and on the bills on the whole of them, must allow themselves to go on in the straight road to the *Gazette* with their eyes open and ruin staring them in the face, without being able to help it. It is too true that about one half of the furnaces will be blown out ere another month expire, and some of the malleable iron works will also be cast off work; but to stand still altogether it must be but for a month or two, as last year, in the time of the long strike, which was found to be no relief whatever to the market. If the men turn out this year, I do assure you a very different feeling will be manifested: the men are perfectly wild with the desperate thought of starvation staring them in the face, and are determined to serve themselves if it is in the country to take—so awful will be the consequences. It truly is high time for masters, one and all, to unite."

Of the general aspect of trade throughout Scotland our correspondent adds:—

"So great is the depression in most trades in this country that a sensation something like what existed in this country the time the cholera ransacked the land, may be read in almost every face, more especially in the cotton spinning and power-loom weaving trades; and above all, in the mining trades. Why, the very lawyers are starved right out: one the other day told me nothing was doing in their line, and added, that the stamp distributor in Paisley is bitterly complaining of the total want of sales, his pay being a per centage. So here, also, the government are feeling the effects of dull trade as well as others."

#### Miscellaneous.

**NEWSPAPER STATISTICS.**—It appears, from the last return made to parliament, that there are at present 138 newspapers circulated in London; the yearly circulation of which amounts to 36,271,020 papers, and the advertisement duty amounts to £48,179 10s. There are 214 English country papers in circulation, the total yearly sale of which amounts to 16,857,000 papers; showing that, though the number of journals considerably exceeds the number in London, the yearly circulation does not amount to half of the circulation in the metropolis. The yearly amount of advertisement duty on the country papers is £19,766 18s. In Scotland there are at present 18 papers in circulation, nearly one-fourth of which are published in Edinburgh; and it is worthy of remark that, notwithstanding the wealth of that city, there is not one daily newspaper published there. The yearly amount

of circulation in Scotland is 1,478,940, and the advertisement duty is £12,595 12s. In Wales there are 10 papers in circulation, the highest of which averages only 1,500 per week. The circulation of the rest is uncertain, sometimes rising to 10,000 per month, and sometimes falling to 1,000. The total yearly circulation is 88,000, and the advertisement duty is £305 18s. 6d. There are 25 papers circulated in Dublin, the yearly sale of which amounts to 3,366,406 papers, and the advertisement duty is £4,599 8s. There are 58 Irish country papers, the yearly circulation of which is 2,435,068, and 12,000 supplements. The advertisement duty amounts to £3,686 16s.

The missionary Gutzlaff, in China, has ascertained that the art of constructing buildings of cast iron has been practised for centuries in the Chinese empire. He has found on the top of a hill, near the town of Tsing Kiang Fou, a pagoda entirely composed of cast iron. It is covered with bas-reliefs and inscriptions, which, from their forms, characters, and dates, show that they are as old as the dynasty of Tang, which was upon the throne as far back as from the fifth to the tenth century of the Christian era.

**GEORGE THOMPSON IN INDIA.**—Various interesting particulars, respecting the proceedings of Mr G. Thompson, are given in the "British Friend," of June 30th, from which we condense the following:—Mr T. had succeeded in reviving the "Landholders' society," a body professedly for the promotion of the general interests of the people of India. It was at one time very useful in resisting the resumption measure, but had remained dormant since the time Dwarkanauth had left. Through this society, G. T. means to forward to government a series of memorials on important subjects connected with the interests of the people, which, if not attended to, Dwarkanauth and he intend to carry to England and agitate there. He had just completed one on the subject of registration, praying for the suspension of a law about coming into operation, and submitting the outline of a scheme for registering all instruments connected with the sale, mortgage, or gift of land. He had half a dozen other memorials on the anvil—police, land, tenures, administration of justice, protection of the ryots, hill coolies, &c. G. T. is visited from morning till night by the natives, who come to seek his advice on all kinds of subjects. They imagine him some being with almost miraculous power; but, though he can do little more than sympathise with them, he obtains a great deal of information, and is hourly increasing his knowledge of the feelings and grievances of the people, and the workings of the system. He wishes his friends could be with him for one day; they would be much instructed. Since his arrival in Calcutta, the town house of Dwarkanauth has been his residence. It is in the centre of the native population. Here he sees natives only; he occupies an entire floor of a huge building, with verandahs on three sides; has a good library; and, except at dinner, has all his meals by himself. The study is a long room, which, when the sun is on that side of the house, is forsaken for a drawing room. The sleeping apartment is called a "Musquito room," a contrivance somewhat resembling an immense meat safe, with thin frame work, and fine gauze stretched between; so that, unless when the door is opened any of these pests intrude, they can be set at defiance, however thick outside, and sleep enjoyed, without having the skin raised to blisters. He is the only European in the house, and the only one in the neighbourhood. The natives call him "Hindoo Thompson;" they now know his person well, and he pursues his way without exciting either suspicion, fear, or dislike. He is incessantly engaged in familiarising himself with the laws and regulations of the country, and their actual operation; and one chief advantage resulting from his present employment, is, that from step to step he is taking the evidence of the most experienced persons, both practical and official, regarding the real operations of the government. This, too, is tendered him without suspicion or reluctance; because it is known that his immediate object is to lay such suggestions before the government as he may deem important; and that he is not solely occupied in making a bagful of grievances to carry home. He will probably return in the winter.

**FATE OF THE ARISTOCRACY.**—"An aristocracy does not expire, like a man, in a single day; the aristocratic principle is slowly undermined in men's opinion before it is attacked in their laws. Long before open war is declared against it, the tie which had hitherto united the higher classes to the lower, may be seen to be gradually relaxed. Indifference and contempt are betrayed by one class, jealousy and hatred by the others; the intercourse between rich and poor becomes less frequent and less kind, and rents are raised. This is not the consequence of a democratic revolution, but its certain harbinger; for an aristocracy which has lost the affection of the people, once and for ever, is like a tree dead at the root, which is more easily torn up by the winds the higher its branches have spread."—[M. de Tocqueville.]

**ODD FELLOWSHIP.**—Accredited number of members, 400,000; capital invested in government securities, £200,000; floating capital, £20,000, exclusive of buildings, printing machinery, foundry, library, &c., £10,000.

**TEMPERANCE IN MASSACHUSETTS.**—No licenses for the sale of ardent spirits are granted this year except in one county.

**PROOF POSITIVE.**—A insults B, B challenges him: A refuses to meet B, on the ground that he is no gentleman. B insists that he is, and, in proof produces the receipt for his newspaper paid six months in advance.—*New Orleans Picayune*.



**EDUCATION.**—A committee of the Wesleyan methodists conference has been appointed to consider and report upon the means of diffusing "sound Scriptural and useful" knowledge throughout the connexion by the establishment of additional week-day schools. Results of a decided and comprehensive character are expected to follow from this step. The Rev. R. Newstead, J. Dixon, C. Prest, and J. Newton, with Mr T. Farmer, are among the members of the committee. The number of children at present educated at the day schools of the Wesleyan body is 20,804; at the Sunday schools, 401,383; at an expense for the whole of £24,167 7s. 2d.

### Religious Intelligence.

**THE LATE REV. J. M. MACKENZIE.**—The untimely death of this reverend gentleman (who was lost with the Pegasus steamer), has produced a profound sensation among his fellow citizens. After pursuing his studies at Glasgow college with distinguished success, and studying divinity at an English independent academy, he for several years was co-pastor of a church in Poole, Dorsetshire. He removed from thence to Glasgow, where, on the 27th of July, 1837, he was ordained assistant and successor to the late Rev. Greville Ewing. In addition to the labours of this situation, he devoted much time and attention to the students in the Glasgow Theological academy; but, being convinced, after a trial of two years, that he could not do justice to either, while he continued to have the charge of both, he resolved to resign his pastorate, and accordingly did so. Soon thereafter, he was most cordially and unanimously chosen to fill the chair of criticism and church history in the academy; which important office he filled up to his lamented decease. Few men were better qualified to discharge its duties. His intellect was strong and clear; his learning varied and profound; his capacity for communicating instruction remarkably felicitous; and his disposition most attractively amiable and engaging. He had an uncommonly large circle of private friends, who were charmed with his conversational powers, and sat entranced, as, with an eye beaming with pleasure, and countenance lit up with intelligence, he poured forth, from his exuberant stores, ideas now gathered from the literature of Greece, then from that of Germany, and anon from an ancient or modern British writer. Nor were his friendships confined to the denomination to which he belonged (ferently attached as he was to their principles), they were extended towards all, with a frank generosity which threw sectarianism aside, and rose above all bigotry.—*Glasgow Paper.*

**AIREDALE COLLEGE.**—The annual meeting of the constituents of this institution was held on Wednesday, the 21st of June. They assembled in the chapel in High street, at eleven o'clock in the morning, when essays were read by the three senior students, Messrs Colvert, Bowman, and Morgan, on baptismal regeneration, a New Testament church, and the extent of the atonement. All the essays evinced great vigour of mind as well as theological attainment, and afforded pleasing indications of a future career of ministerial usefulness. The address to the students, an earnest and affectionate exhortation to fidelity in the ministerial office, was delivered by the Rev. A. Ewing, of Halifax; after which, the friends of the institution adjourned to the college, where the annual meeting was held, John Holland, Esq., of Slead house, in the chair. The report of the examiners spoke favourably of the progress of the students in their several branches of study during the past year. That of the committee represented the affairs of the institution as in a prosperous state, except the finances, which were stated to be deficient. This last point led to a long discussion, which led to a determination to adopt vigorous measures for raising the ways and means. It was thought, and justly thought, that if the claims of the college upon the independent body were better understood, they would be more generally admitted and satisfied. The report, which was read by the Rev. Walter Scott, theological tutor, stated, at the close, that the Rev. W. B. Clulon, who has held the office of classical tutor for eight years with credit to himself and advantage to the institution, had resigned that office, a circumstance deeply to be regretted, as the scholastic attainments and general erudition of this gentleman rendered him an invaluable officer in the department he has so long occupied. A vote of thanks to the officers was very cordially passed; and in the evening, the Rev. R. Bell, of Brighouse, preached an excellent sermon to the constituents in the college chapel. There have been twenty students in the college during the last session, and several applications have been rejected for want of room. The following is the report of the examiners:—"The committee of examination have to report to the constituents that they have devoted an entire day to the duties of their office, and have secured a more thorough examination by resolving themselves into two sections, which have been occupied with different departments at the same time. The examinations have been conducted principally in writing, and thereby a better opportunity has been afforded of ascertaining the attainments of every student. Questions were proposed in theology, principally in reference to the canon of scripture; and in church history in reference to the era of the crusades. The classes were examined in the Hebrew of Genesis and Job, in the Chaldee of Daniel, and the Syriac of Matthew; and, at the same sitting, answers were supplied to several questions on the contents of the two former books, and on the interpretation of particular passages occurring in them. In the classical department, some of the most difficult passages in the choral odes of Aristo-

phanes and Eschylus, and in Homer's Iliad, and in Juvenal, Cicero, &c., were selected for translation, and the questions proposed embraced the explanation of the peculiarities of dialect, idiom, historical allusions, and grammatical structure. The exercises in mathematics consisted in the demonstration of propositions in the eleventh and preceding books of Euclid. The students were prepared for examination in several other departments, viz., in the criticism of the New Testament, in mental philosophy, in natural science, in algebra (as far as quadratic equations), &c.; but on these your committee found it impossible, for want of time, to enter. Your committee are happy to report that the examination has been on the whole very satisfactory, evincing at once considerable extent and accuracy of information, proving that the session has been diligently occupied, and warranting gratifying anticipations as to the future ministerial career of the students now in the college.

**POPULAR.**—On Wednesday, the 26th July, the foundation-stone of two school-rooms was laid, in the East India-road, Poplar, by the Rev. George Smith. The building is intended for British and Sabbath-schools, in connexion with Trinity chapel, and is to accommodate five hundred children. The land has been given by one of the deacons of the church, and the congregation are exerting themselves to defray the cost of the erection, which is estimated at £1,000. A great number of persons were present as spectators of this service, in addition to the children of three schools already connected with this place of worship. A suitable address was delivered by their minister, and the undertaking was commended by prayer to the blessing of the Triune God.

**THE WESLEYAN CONFERENCE.**—The Centenary Wesleyan Conference commenced its sittings, at Sheffield, in Carver street chapel, at nine o'clock on Wednesday morning. The Rev. Dr Hannah, the president, was in the chair. The hundred having been filled up, the conference proceeded next to the election of president for the ensuing year, when the Rev. Josh. Scott was appointed to that office, having received 150 votes, and the next highest candidate only 16. The Rev. Dr Newton was elected secretary by 158 votes—the next largest number being 15. The conference then proceeded to the transaction of the general business of the society. About 300 or 400 ministers were present, which is not so large a number as usual, a circumstance which has been attributed to a desire on the part of many of the ministers not to press too severely on their friends at Sheffield, in the present depressed condition of the trade of that town. The conference, it is stated, will be held at Birmingham next year, and at Leeds the year after. The stations of the ministers have not yet been declared. The clear increase of members for the year ending March last, was 8,150.

**BOLTON.**—The Rev. J. D. Elliott, late of the Theological academy, Exeter, was on Wednesday last ordained as minister over the church and congregation assembling at Mawdsley street chapel, Bolton. The chapel was crowded with one of the most wealthy, respectable, and attentive audiences we have seen associated together for some time. Although the weather in the morning was unfavourable, long before the appointed hour for the commencement of the service, the town had a somewhat busy appearance by the presence of ministers and friends from a distance, who had come to join in the solemnities of the occasion. Among those present were the Rev. G. Payne, LL.D., of the Western College, Exeter, who had come purposely to testify his approval of the selection the church and congregation in Mawdsley street had made; the Rev. Dr Vaughan, the Rev. J. Clunie, LL.D., Dr Raffles, the Rev. Richard Fletcher, the Rev. S. Ellis, Rev. D. Nimmo, and between 20 and 30 other Independent dissenting ministers.

### BIRTHS.

July 26, Mrs JOHN FREEMAN, 27, Millbank street, of a daughter July 23, at Hounslow, Middlesex, the lady of the Rev. JOHN TAYLER, of a son.

### MARRIAGES.

July 27, at the superintendent registrar's office, Market Harborough, Mr THOMAS G. GRINDY, to LYDIA, youngest daughter of John NUNSELEY, Esq., both of that town.  
July 24, at Lower chapel, Liversedge, by the Rev. Rob. Martin, Mr SAMUEL LANGLEY, manufacturer, Mirfield, to MARY, daughter of Mr EDWARD LAWTON, farmer, Hopton, near Dewsbury.  
July 25, at the High Pavement chapel, Nottingham, by the Rev. B. Carpenter, Mr JOHN PARROTT, Postern place, to Miss MARY ANN COLBURN, Pierrepont street, all of that town.  
July 26, at the independent chapel, Atherstone, MORTAR PRINCE, Esq., to Miss BOLSTER KING, daughter of F. King, Esq., hat manufacturer, of the same place.  
July 27, at St Pancras church, by the Rev. D. Melville, HENRY OGIE HOLMES, of Braunose college, Oxford, to ELIZA, second daughter of Henry WAKEFIELD, Esq., of Lansdowne place, and grand-daughter of the late Mr Gilbert Wakefield, of Hackney.  
July 25, at Camberwell, the Rev. CHARLES SPURDEN, of Fredericton, New Brunswick, to EMMA MARIA, second daughter of the late Mr R. G. MARTIN.  
July 25, at St George's church, Hanover square, Hon. WILLIAM DAWSON, M.P., eldest son of Viscount Downe, to Miss BAGOT, eldest daughter of the Bishop of Oxford and Lady Harriet Bagot.  
July 26, at the Baptist chapel, Hall green, Haworth, Yorkshire, by the Rev. Mr Saunders, Mr JOHN GREENWOOD, to Miss DINAH MOORE, all of the same place.  
July 26, at Mulberry street chapel, Manchester, by the Rev. J. Boardman, and afterwards at the Collegiate church, by the Rev. W. Wilson, Mr JAMES HAYES, solicitor, Preston, to ELIZABETH, third daughter of Mr EDWARD DAVIES, of Salford.

### DEATHS.

July 4, in his 69th year, at the residence of his brother, Daniel Edwards, Esq., of Baregains, Herefordshire, the Rev. DAVID EDWARDS, late of Elswick, Lancashire. He sustained the office of the Christian ministry among the independent church and congregation assembled at that place with fidelity and success, during the period of forty years. His piety was ardent and unaffected; and he was made instrumental in winning many souls to Christ.  
July 24, at Walworth, Rev. JOSHUA MEEHAN, many years minister of the gospel in the Countess of Huntingdon's connexion, aged 60 years.  
July 25, at Hatfield, Essex, JOHN SEWELL, Esq., in his 88th year.  
July 26, aged 11 years and 6 months, JOHN OSGOOD, fourth son of Osgood HANBURY, jun., Esq., of Lombard street, banker.

July 26, at his residence, George street, Portman square, Lieut.-general Sir ARTHUR BROOKE, K.C.B., colonel of the 86th regiment of foot, aged 71 years.

July 27, at Chislehurst, Kent, MARY, wife of John MARTIN, Esq., M.P.

July 30, of a brain fever, at the residence of her brother, Mr G. Chapple of Dulverton, Somersetshire, where she had been staying a short time for the benefit of her health, MARIA, the affectionate and beloved wife of the Rev. John HOOPER, of Christian Malford, Wilts, in the 52nd year of her age. Her end was peace.

July 19, in his voyage from Leith to Hull, on board the steamer Pegasus, lost off the Farn Islands, the Rev. JOHN MORELL MACKENZIE, M.A., aged 36 years, one of the tutors of the Glasgow theological seminary.

July 29, at his residence in Harley street, in his 76th year, the Duke of DORSET, K.G.

### Trade and Commerce.

#### LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, July 28.

The following building is certified as a place duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the 6th and 7th William IV., cap. 85:—  
The Wesley chapel, Gainsborough, Lincolnshire. T. Oldinan, superintendent registrar.

#### BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

SAVAGE, HENRY, Coaley, Gloucestershire, spade manufacturer.

#### BANKRUPTS.

CHALICOMBE, HENRY, Swansea, Glamorganshire, sail maker, August 10, Sept. 11: solicitors, Messrs Newman and Co., Yeovil, Somersetshire, Mr F. Short, Bristol, and Messrs Burfoots, Temple, London.

DIXON, DAVID, Woodhouse Carr, Yorkshire, dyer, August 8, Sept. 5: solicitor, Mr Bond, Leeds.

FOSTER, ELIZABETH HANNAH, Hathern, Leicestershire, tanner, August 4, 31: solicitor, Mr A. Goddard, King street, Cheapside, London.

KING, JOHN, Kingston-upon-Hull, mercer, August 9, Sept. 6: solicitors, Messrs Sale and Worthington, Manchester, and Messrs England and Shackles, Hull.

LEVY, MEYER, 28, Great Winchester street, City, commission merchant, August 10, Sept. 8: solicitors, Messrs Reed and Shaw, Friday street.

RAYNER, EDWIN, Sheffield, merchant, August 9, Sept. 6: solicitor, Mr A. C. Branson, Sheffield.

REYNOLDS, EDWARD, Merton, Surrey, silk printer, August 10, Sept. 8: solicitors, Messrs Reed and Shaw, Friday street, London.

SALTER, GEORGE, 50, Davies street, Middlesex, builder, August 4, Sept. 7: solicitor, Mr T. Parker, St Paul's churchyard.

SIDON, JESSE, West Bromwich, Staffordshire, hollow ware manufacturer, August 12, Sept. 9: solicitor, Mr Bray, Birmingham.

TAYLOR, JOHN HENRY, Thornes, Yorkshire, carpenter, August 9, Sept. 13: solicitor, Mr Bulmer, Leeds.

Tuesday, August 1st.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act of 6 and 7 William IV., cap. 85:—

The Baptist chapel, Kidderminster, Worcestershire. H. Saunders, superintendent registrar.

The Wesleyan chapel, Bishopwearmouth, Durham. Nicholas C. Reed, superintendent registrar.

The Bethel Calvinistic chapel, Wafenawr, Carnarvonshire. John Thomas, superintendent registrar.

The Wesleyan chapel, Stroud, Gloucestershire. A. J. Driver, superintendent registrar.

#### BANKRUPTS.

BATE, THOMAS and WILLIAM SMITH, and HELLINGS, JAMES, Rugeley, Staffordshire, brewers, August 12, Sept. 12: solicitors, Messrs Wilde and Co., College hill, London; and Mr John Smith, Rugeley.

DAVIES, RYCE, Abercarn, Monmouthshire, grocer, August 11, Sept. 13: solicitor, Mr L. O. Bigg, Bristol.

GODWIN, HENRY MORGAN, and LEE, CHARLES, Bishopgate street Within, City, shipowners, August 10, September 12: solicitors, Messrs Oliverson and Co., Old Jewry.

LAING, ALEXANDER, Halifax, Yorkshire, draper, August 9, September 9: solicitors, Messrs Reed and Shaw, 2, Friday street, Cheapside.

MARTIN, JAMES, Bexley-beath, Kent, victualler, August 10, Sept. 9: solicitor, Mr Sadgrove, Mark-lane, London.

RUNTING, WILLIAM, and JEFFCOAT, WILLIAM, East Hardings-street, City, bookbinders, August 10, Sept. 12: solicitor, Mr Hodgson, Broad-street buildings.

SKINNER, THOMAS, late of Godalming, Surrey, but now of Dorking, Surrey, butcher, August 10, September 22: solicitor, Mr Tucker, Cannon street, City.

SOLLY, NATHANIEL NEAL and RICHARD, Tividale, Staffordshire, and Sheffield, ironmasters, August 24, September 23: solicitor, Mr Carter, Birmingham.

WILKINSON, JAMES, and WILKINSON, GEORGE, 138, Lenden-hall street, City, indigo brokers, August 11, September 9: solicitor, Mr R. J. Child, 77, Chancery lane.

WRIGHT, JOSEPH, Exeter, builder, August 16, September 13: solicitors, Mr Brutton, Exeter; and Mr Clipperton, Bedford row, London.

#### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

AITKENHEAD, ALEXANDER, Patrick, victualler, August 4, 24.

COUSLAND, ARCHIBALD, Glasgow, wire worker, August 7, September 1.

CURRIE, JOHN, Lanark, messenger-at-arms and builder, August 3, 31.

MAGREGOR, DONALD ROBERT, Leith, auctioneer, August 7, 28.

PATERSON, WILLIAM, New Sauchie, near Alloa, August 7, 28.

STRACHAN, RALPH, Kirkliston, maltster, August 8, Sept. 1.

#### BRITISH FUNDS.

	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per cent. Consols	93	93	93	93	93	93
Ditto for Account	93	93	93	93	93	93
3 per cents Reduced	94	94	94	94	94	94
2 1/2 per cents. Reduced	101	102	102	102	102	102
New 3 1/2 per cent.	101	101	101	101	101	101
Long Annuities	123	123	123	123	123	123
Bank Stock	180	180	180	180	180	180
India Stock	262	—	263	—	—	—
Exchequer Bills	56pm	54pm	53pm	53pm	55pm	55pm
India Bonds	68pm	68pm	—	70pm	68pm	68pm

#### FOREIGN FUNDS.

Austrian	112	Mexican	33
Belgian	104	Peruvian	19
Brazilian	75	Portuguese 5 per cents	29
Buenos Ayres	—	Ditto 3 per cents	—
Columbian	25	Russian	115
Danish	—	Spanish Active	19
Dutch 2 1/2 per cents	53	Ditto Passive	14
Ditto 5 per cents	160	Ditto Deferred	10

#### RAILWAY SHARES.

Birmingham and Derby	37	London and Brighton	32
Birmingham & Gloucester	50	London & Croydon	—
Blackwall	4	London and Greenwich	4
Bristol and Exeter	58	Ditto New	16
Cheltenham & Gt. Western	28	Manchester & Birm.	22
Eastern Counties	9	Manchester and Leeds	78
Edinburgh and Glasgow	50	Midland Counties	66
Great North of England	62	Ditto Quarter Shares	16
Great Western	50	North Midland	72
Ditto New	66	Ditto Eastern	—
Ditto Fifties	16	South Eastern and Dover	24
London and Birmingham	216	South Western	65
Ditto Quarter shares	53	Ditto New	—



